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His three single Combats Chap. 7.
His Encounter with TVRBASHAW Chap. 7.

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THE VIRGINIA PLUTARCH

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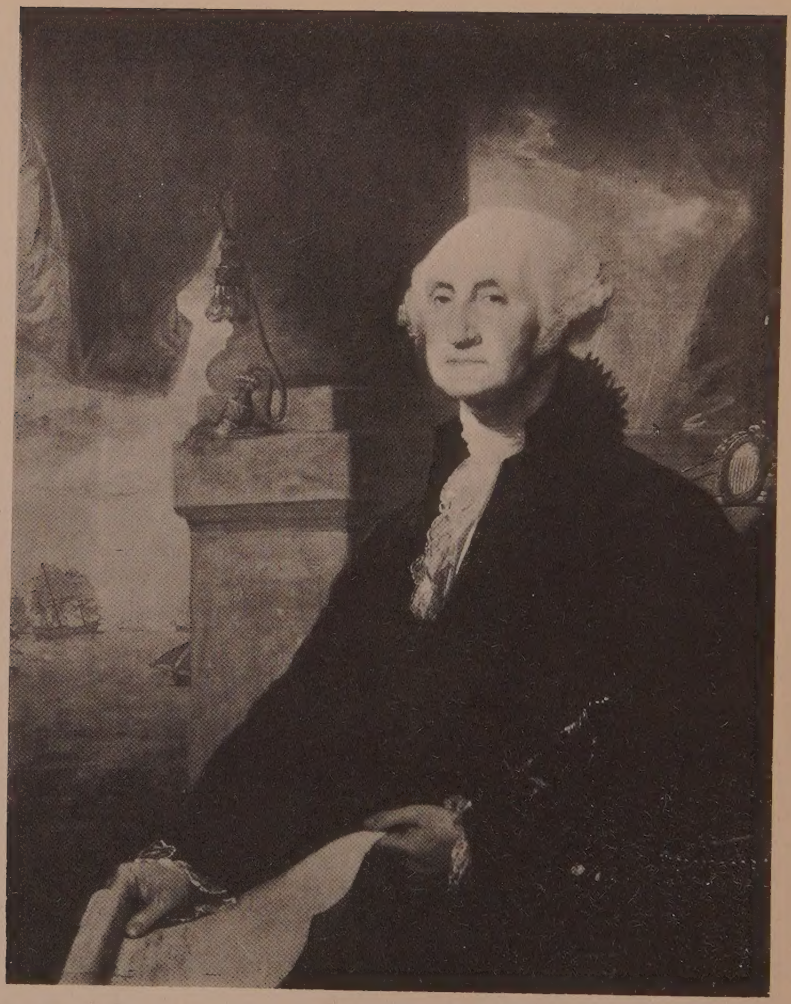

PLATE I. *From a portrait by Stuart. Photo Cook.*
PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE VIRGINIA PLUTARCH

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

THE NATIONAL ERA

Mills College L
Withdraw

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1929

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THE NATIONAL ERA

Chapter I

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON WAS acknowledged by all his countrymen to be first in war. We have already related the history of his career as a soldier and described the patience, fortitude, and foresight which he exhibited under circumstances of extraordinary perplexity and difficulty. He was now to be the first as a political leader and as such to contend with and overcome obstacles apparently as insurmountable as those which confronted him in his military campaigns.

It was an achievement of overshadowing importance to win the independence of the United States on the battlefield. Hardly less mighty in its significance was his success in checking the disruptive tendencies abroad among the American people by laying a rock foundation for the new federal government and starting it on the first stage of its progress, in a spirit that looked to the welfare, not of one division of the country, but of all divisions. There were no precedents for its guidance at the beginning. The policies that were adopted were simply those which were suggested by the sagacity and patriotism of Washington and his immediate advisers. His practical and farsighted intelligence, assisted and confirmed in its conclusions by the advice of a great cabinet, blazed the path of national administration so wisely that its subsequent course has been largely a consistent extension of the original course which he laid down.

Everything was in a condition of doubt at first. An influential section of the people feared that in such a concentration of power in the hands of the executive, legislative,

and judicial departments at the capital, all the boundary lines between state and nation would be obliterated. Another section, equally influential, was apprehensive lest the national government should perish through its own weakness. The restiveness of those who condemned the principle of a sovereign nation had come to the surface in many of the new commonwealths in the opposition to the formal approval of the Constitution. The anticipated practical working of that instrument was pictured in language well calculated to excite the keenest distrust. It is true that only two states had refused to ratify, but the acrimonious debates that took place in all the conventions and the proposal of numerous amendments indicated the vigor of the antagonism which the new organic law had aroused. Perhaps it would be perfectly accurate to say that but for Washington's unwavering advice, the Constitution would not have been accepted by a majority of the states. All were aware that he was almost certain to be elected president, and the universal confidence placed in his unselfish patriotism, his sound judgment, and his unrivaled experience had much to do with reconciling many citizens to the erection of a central national government. Any failure on his part as the head of that government was sure to revive the prejudices and doubts which lay dormant in the breasts of these men and to excite to a white heat the hostility of those who had never disguised their dislike of the new system.

No one understood more clearly than Washington the vital importance of the political problems which had to be successfully solved before his administration could deserve the gratitude of the people. He was too wise to depend on himself alone. "I feel, in the execution of my arduous office," he said, "how much I shall stand in need of the countenance and aid of every friend to myself, of every friend to the Revolution, and of every lover of good government." His first act was to choose his official advisers, who were afterwards to be known as his cabinet. Originally there were only five departments, of which but four at first were represented in the cabinet's formal deliberations—the state, by Jefferson;

the treasury, by Hamilton; the war, by Knox; and the attorney-generalship, by Edmund Randolph. Washington looked upon these advisers as a single body in which the votes of the majority—upon all general questions, at least—were to be allowed to prevail, even should the decision be contrary to his own convictions. The cabinet strongly resembled in character the council of war to which he had so long been accustomed. At the same time, it was his habit in the supervision of each separate department to give the preference to the wishes of the head of that department.

He did not appoint as members of his first cabinet men who were exponents of the principal divisions of national sentiment, in order that he might obtain thereby from the public at large a more general support of his administrative measures. As a matter of fact, parties had not at the time of his inauguration been so fully developed as to make possible a selection of cabinet officers along those lines. Hamilton was offered the treasury portfolio, not only because Washington was aware of his great ability, but also because he looked upon him with affection, in consequence of their long personal intercourse. Jefferson was appointed secretary of state because of his eminent fitness for that office by virtue of his practical experience in Europe. Knox and Randolph were men who had demonstrated their competence in their respective professions—the one in war; the other at the bar; and both enjoyed the personal confidence, but not the intimacy, of the President.

In the center of this little group, so often torn by emotions of personal and political antagonism, stood Washington, who in his complete consecration to his country had but a single purpose in his mind, namely, to foster the welfare of all the people without regard to persons or parties. In his relations with the members of his cabinet he resembled a father among his sons, anxious to smooth away every cause of mutual distrust, but at the very time that he lamented the differences which so often divided them, retaining an unshaken confidence in their disinterested patriotism. He did not accept the Constitution in the carping spirit of

Hamilton or in the at first grudging spirit of Jefferson. He regarded its provisions as a very wise compromise between conflicting interests that could not otherwise have been brought into the harmony which was indispensable to the success of the young Republic. He had no fine-spun theories and no thought of reservations or implications to confuse him in his interpretation of its text. His duty was in his own opinion to observe and enforce that text according to the meaning which it offered on its face; and in performing this duty he exhibited a firmness and fidelity that are not the smallest reason for the gratitude with which his memory is cherished by the American people.

The earliest and most important measure of Washington's administration related to the funding of the national debt. Originally the amount needed to pay for the supplies purchased from merchants, manufacturers, and farmers for the support of the army or to provide the wages periodically due the soldiers for their services, was obtained by the emission of paper money. But when this medium of exchange became entirely worthless from the quantity turned out by the presses, the Government of the Confederation issued certificates of indebtedness, the value of which depended altogether on the credit of that Government. A large number of bonds had also been negotiated by the states; and great sums, too, had been borrowed from foreign nations—all designed for the same purpose, namely, to defray the expenses incurred for the general defense. The measures submitted to Congress by the administration called for the national recognition and security of these different obligations.

No objection whatever was raised to the funding of the foreign debts, most of which were held by France, whose assistance at a critical hour could never be forgotten by the people of the United States. It was the funding of the domestic debts alone that aroused vigorous opposition at once. It was claimed that, under the plan proposed, no difference was made between the original holders and the fraudulent purchasers of the certificates, which had, in many cases, been bought up at five shillings, and in some, at two.

The failure of Congress to limit the amount to be paid such a purchaser to the amount which he had given for his certificate was really due to no spirit of corruption, as was loudly asserted at the time. Rather, it was due to the members' clear recognition of the impracticability of enforcing such a provision. To have deferred the funding in the effort to carry out such a provision at a time when the utmost promptness was called for was, as they perhaps knew, calculated to jeopardize the success of the whole scheme for the establishment of the national credit. Under that provision, if acted upon, delay was absolutely certain to occur, for it would have been impossible in the case of thousands of certificates to ascertain in every instance, except after expensive investigation, how much should be paid the original holder and how much the subsequent purchaser. And it was probable, too, that many a buyer would for one reason or another fail within a reasonable period to show how much was owing him. A great mass of certificates would in consequence be left outstanding, to become in time a source of litigation between the original holders, or their heirs, and the purchasers, and this might ultimately involve the treasury in the controversy.

The administration's purpose was to establish the government's credit at a single stroke. As long as that credit remained in any doubt whatever, the stability of the government could not be assured; and the government's stability was especially essential at the beginning of the great experiment in republican administration. By promising to pay only the actual holder of a certificate, whether primary or secondary, the treasury made that certificate immediately good without the inevitable confusion and perplexity which would have attended the adjustment of individual claims to a nicety; and in making the certificate good to the holder, whoever he might be, the treasury without further trouble established to that extent at least the government's credit. Even Jefferson admitted at the time that the proposal could not be rejected without endangering the safety of the Union.

Still more menacing were the disputes aroused by the

proposition that the national government should assume the state debts, which also formed a part of the funding scheme. The individual commonwealths had contracted liabilities for their own defense independently of Congress; some had since the war discharged their respective obligations in large part, but some had paid not a dollar. Why, it was asked by the former, should we consent to assume, through our national treasury, the burden of these unsettled debts of our delinquent or dilatory sister states? Because, said the latter, the entire sum was expended, not for our separate benefit, but for the benefit of the country as a whole. A compromise was proposed and accepted. The national capital should be transferred to the banks of the Potomac in return for the passage of the Assumption Bill, with the provision, however, that there was to be no change in the existing site until 1800.

Washington warmly approved not only the funding measures which we have mentioned, but also a proposal to charter a national bank to make easy the financial transactions of the government. In order to ensure the passage of the Bank Act, it became necessary to invoke the supposed implied powers of the Constitution, a dangerous step, because this doctrine if granted could be employed interminably for the further concentration of authority in the central government. Equally far-reaching were the measures of the administration relating to internal taxation and the encouragement of manufactures by the imposition of custom duties.

It was logical that the first popular uprising under the new government should have been incited by the spirit of opposition to the internal taxes which that government had imposed. The excise tax, which formed an important part of the new financial system, fell with heaviness on the producers of whiskey in the districts of western Pennsylvania. The inspector of the revenue at Pittsburgh was General Nevil, whose house was attacked by an angry mob when he refused to give up his papers or order the soldiers who had been sent to protect him to surrender. Angered by this determined stand, the insurgents set fire to the outbuildings and forced the garrison to come out and ground their arms.

Nevil, accompanied by the federal marshal, escaped by a back door, and taking a circuitous route, after many adventures and privations, found refuge in Philadelphia.

Washington had perceived the significance of the movement at once. "If the laws are to be trampled upon with impunity," said he, "and a minority—and a small one, too,—is to dictate to the majority, there is an end put at one stroke to Republican Government." He issued a proclamation warning the rioters that if they had not dispersed by the first day of September, coercion would be employed to suppress the prevailing disorder; and to prove that he meant no idle threat, he called upon the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to furnish jointly an army of twelve thousand men, fully equipped, to begin the campaign. A second proclamation was issued in September giving a sterner warning, and soon afterwards Washington set out to take command in person of such troops as had been raised to put down the now formidable rebellion. One of the divisions of the Virginia militia was under the leadership of General Morgan, who had eagerly volunteered for service.

Washington went as far west as Fort Cumberland, where the rendezvous was held, but he was constrained by public business to return to Philadelphia before he could take an active part in the campaign. He appointed General Henry Lee as his successor. When leaving, he declared "that no citizen of the United States could ever be engaged in the performance of a duty more important to his country than this. It is nothing less than to consolidate and preserve the blessings of that Revolution, which, at much expense of blood and treasure, constituted us a free and independent nation." The army under General Lee numbered fifteen thousand, and its approach so overawed the insurgents that they laid down their rifles and submitted a plan for clemency. In order to stamp out the last vestige of resistance, General Morgan and a detachment of troops remained in that region throughout the winter. But for Washington's prompt and resolute action, this uprising might have swelled to the pro-

portions of a great rebellion.

Equally vigorous was his policy in dealing with the Indians, although some of the officers in command of the expeditions were not always successful. In September, 1791, a small army under General St. Clair assembled on the site of the modern city of Cincinnati. The troops, however, were not fitted in quality for the difficult march through the roadless wilderness which lay before them, and they were also poorly equipped for such a campaign. So many of the soldiers were on the eve of their discharge that St. Clair pushed rapidly into the country in order to make it perilous for these men to return, even if they went in small companies; but this maneuver did not prove successful, and there were so many deserters that a large detachment had to be sent back to arrest them.

In November the army camped on a tributary of the Wabash, a dangerous spot owing to its nearness to thick woods and fallen logs. An attack half an hour before sunrise by a large body of yelling Indians threw the army's outposts into a panic, and the army itself was saved from a direct assault only by the resolute front which it presented. The savages retired behind the masses of logs, where they could not be effectively fired upon by either musket or cannon, but where they nevertheless were left free to pick off their enemies with their unerring rifles. Within a few hours one half of the American forces had been killed. The rest, in a retreat which soon, like that of Braddock's army, grew into a flight, did not halt until they had reached a place of safety nearly thirty miles from the battlefield. Owing to the perfection of the Indian aim, the slaughter had been unexampled. Five hundred and fifty of the rank and file had fallen dead as compared with two hundred wounded. Thirty-one of the officers had perished, and twenty-four had been wounded, out of a total of ninety-five. St. Clair doubtless recalled with anguish the last words which Washington had spoken to him on taking leave: "Beware of a surprise." When news of this harrowing disaster was brought to the President, his habitual calmness and self-control gave way.

He walked about the room in a state of undisguised agitation of mind. "To suffer that army," he exclaimed, "to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked by a surprise, the very thing I guarded against! Oh, God, oh, God! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him." But soon perceiving that he had yielded too much to passion in using these strong words, he added in his usual quiet manner, "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches; saw the whole catastrophe, but not all the particulars. I will receive him without displeasure. I will hear him without prejudice. He shall have full justice."

St. Clair was succeeded by Wayne, who, by the extraordinary cautiousness which he soon exhibited in his campaign north of the Ohio River, disproved for the time being the pertinency of his sobriquet, "Mad Anthony." He led his army against the populous villages situated in the rich valley of the Miami. On reaching the banks of that stream, he made overtures of peace to the chiefs, but these were received with contempt because they were taken as an evidence of conscious weakness. Suddenly Wayne delivered a powerful blow by a combined assault of infantry and cavalry; the Indians were driven back through the woods with great slaughter; and when the pursuit ceased, all the villages were put to the torch, and the stored corn was carried off. St. Clair was thus fully avenged.

The foreign policy of Washington's administration was characterized by equally vigorous action, although not always successful.

The government's relations with Spain during his administration were disturbed by several acute causes of antagonism. The first arose from that country's astonishing claim to a portion of southern Georgia, on the ground that, as an ally, she had wrested it from the grasp of its British occupants during the Revolution. It was pointed out that as the United States now stood in Great Britain's shoes to the same degree in the case of southern Georgia as of Virginia or Massachusetts or any other state of the new Union un-

claimed by Spain, the latter was bound, in consequence of the terms of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, to deliver up any part of the original colonial territory which may have come into her possession.

But a matter of far greater significance was the United States' insistence upon the correctness of its claim to the unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi River, which, it appears, had been blocked by the Spanish Government before Washington was inaugurated. Having acquired by the treaty of 1763 an unhampered right to the use of this river throughout its course, Great Britain, in the subsequent treaty of 1782-83, conveyed that right, along with all other associated territorial rights, to the newborn Republic. The chief of these corollary rights was the one to erect warehouses on the banks of the stream at points which had been improved by quays for the landing or shipment of products. During the Colonial times Great Britain had enforced this right by a clash of arms. The following demands were now made on Spain, all of which were ultimately conceded: (1) that the right of free navigation should run up and down the entire length of the river as granted by the treaty of 1763; (2) that American vessels, ascending or descending the stream, should not be halted or required to pay any duty upon either tonnage or cargo; and (3) that there should be no interference with these ships in the use of American ports situated here and there along the banks.

The friction with Spain was increased by the Georgians' forcible recapture of their Negroes who had run away to Florida. A special convention that existed between Spain and the United States had fixed the exact penalties to be attached to granting a safe harbor to these fugitive slaves in that region.

In the course of 1789-90, Gouverneur Morris was instructed by Washington to visit England to find out what the British Government would be willing to concede for the settlement of the controversy between the two peoples, due (1) to the continued retention by the British of the seven posts in the Northwest which they had bound themselves

by the treaty of peace to deliver up to the United States; (2) to their failure to pay an indemnity for the slaves carried away by their armies from the Southern plantations during the Revolutionary War; (3) to their refusal to come to an understanding in regulation of the trade between the two countries; and (4) to their neglect to appoint a minister to represent the British Crown in the United States.

A feeling of indignation and excitement was aroused in the latter country by the failure of the British Government to make any reply to the American remonstrances against these wrongs. A cry for war with England arose and spread. But Washington refused to listen to this clamor. He determined to make an appeal to the British people for a settlement without the shedding of a single drop of blood, to accomplish which, a special envoy was to be employed. His first plan was to choose Alexander Hamilton for the mission, but at Hamilton's suggestion John Jay was appointed instead. Jay was to serve in association with the American minister already resident in England. Washington, aware of the exasperated feeling in that country against the American people, did not expect a more favorable upshot, as he said, than "give and take."

In March, 1795, the treaty negotiated by Jay arrived in Philadelphia a few days after the adjournment of Congress. The document was not altogether satisfactory to Washington, but he concluded that its advantages outweighed any objections that could legitimately be urged against its ratification, and he therefore made up his mind to sign it should it be approved by the Senate. By the required two-thirds' vote, this consummation was reached. But the feeling of the public at large was violently inimical to the acceptance of the treaty, even with the Senate's stipulation that certain unpopular clauses were to be re-negotiated. All sorts of influences, directly or indirectly employed, were brought to bear on Washington to cause him to change his mind, but he did not falter, inasmuch as he thought that the interests of the people in the mass demanded the treaty's ratification. "My system for attaining the happiness of my fellow-

citizens," he said, "has uniformly been to overlook all personal, local, and partial considerations, and to contemplate the United States as one great whole, and to consult only the substantial and permanent interests of our country."

The public clamor increased in virulence, but Washington's purpose underwent no alteration. "There is but one straight course," he said, "and that is to seek truth and pursue it steadily." He confidently relied upon the impartial spirit of posterity to pass favorably on his policy. "The acts of my administration," he said, "will appear when I am no more, and the intelligent and candid part of mankind will not condemn my conduct without recurring to them."

In February, 1796, the treaty was returned from London with the King's signature attached, and it became the law of the land by the authority of a proclamation which Washington promptly issued.

Hardly less aggravating to his patience, in his relations with foreign powers, was the ruthless spirit of Revolutionary France as reflected in the incredibly preposterous conduct of Genêt while minister to the United States. In April, 1793, news reached Philadelphia that war had broken out between France and Great Britain. Should the United States and France stand together against the English as the common foe? As long as the Northwest posts were held by Great Britain, said the advocates of this policy, a condition of war really existed between that country and the American people. As for France, had not a treaty of amity and commerce been signed with her in 1778, by which French men-of-war and privateers might, and British might not, bring their prizes into American ports? And had there not also been a treaty of alliance by which the defense of the French possessions in the West Indies had been solemnly guaranteed?

At the meeting of the cabinet which Washington called before Genêt's arrival, one of the questions for decision was: should he be received? Washington yielded so far to Hamilton's adverse reply as to refuse to promise to show Genêt any particular mark of cordiality after his landing, but he

concluded to issue a proclamation of neutrality between the two contending nations. Neither France nor Great Britain wished the United States to adopt this attitude, and it is probable that Genêt's real object was to embroil the American people in the war on the side of France, which could only be done by forcing them into situations hostile to Great Britain. His astounding follies on the threshold of his mission perhaps had this motive at bottom; but later on, when nothing towards that end had been accomplished by his extravagant actions, he was no doubt influenced simply by spiteful disappointment.

So soon as Genêt arrived at Charleston, he gave orders to French merchants there, with Governor Moultrie's permission, to equip two privateers to be sent on a cruise against British ships passing along the coast. These two vessels were to be manned by the Frenchmen and Americans who should apply for enlistment; and the prizes which they should capture were to be condemned, and the proceeds of their sale distributed, by the French consuls in the United States sitting as courts of admiralty. It was not long before an order was received in Charleston from the American Government for these vessels to depart; all American sailors who had joined their crews were arrested; and the custom officers in the American ports everywhere were forbidden to suffer the equipment, in their jurisdiction, of any additional French men-of-war.

Genêt made his way to Philadelphia by land, and on his arrival there he was formally asked by Washington to submit a written explanation of his conduct in Charleston. The labored document in which he sought to do this was rejected by every member of the cabinet. Their condemnation, however, had no deterring influence with him. He continued to assert that he was authorized by the terms of the treaties to equip and arm privateers in American ports, and that the American judges could take no cognizance of the question whether a vessel held by a French consular tribunal was a lawful prize or not. He had the audacity to suggest the bestowal of commissions on two American officers selected by

him to lead a large force of Kentuckians, Louisianians, and Indians against the Spanish garrison at New Orleans for the purpose of founding an independent government there under the protection of France and the United States.

Genêt's monstrous presumption rapidly increased. A vessel captured by one of his privateers, re-christened the *Little Democrat*, was repaired, equipped, and manned in Philadelphia. He was asked to stop her from going to sea until Washington, who was daily expected from Mount Vernon, should return to the seat of government and pass upon the vessel's right to serve as a French cruiser. Genêt received this request with anger and only after many insulting comments gave a sort of half promise to comply, but before the President could announce his decision, the *Little Democrat*, by Genêt's orders, had raised her anchors and vanished down the reaches of the Delaware. In the near future he was to push to still more outrageous bounds his violation of American neutrality. One of his consuls in New England, having first drafted an armed force from a French frigate, coolly carried off a ship which the marshal of the district had arrested under process from a court of justice. In another instance the same impetuous official actually prevented the marshal from serving a writ on the captain of a certain vessel; and he publicly announced at the time that the French fleet in those waters had been ordered, if necessary, to back him up with all its crews and guns. This foolish audacity, however, did not go unpunished—he was apprehended, prosecuted, and imprisoned by the American Government, and his *exequatur* canceled.

But Genêt had not yet reached the end of his rope. Remembering how impotent was the executive in his native France since the Revolution began, and how all powerful was the national assembly there, he was heard to criticize President Washington on more than one occasion for exercising his constitutional right to pass independently on certain subjects then in dispute. "He should have put off doing so," said Genêt, "until he had had an opportunity of finding out and following the wishes of Congress."

It was inevitable that after all his outrageous acts Genêt should have become *persona non grata* to Washington and his administration. The French Government was asked to recall him, and this request was promptly complied with. He was prudent enough to remain in the United States after his dismissal, for had he returned to Paris, his head would have been among the first to fall on the scaffold. He withdrew to Albany, married a daughter of Governor Clinton, and having become a good citizen, discarded all those turbulent qualities which had made him such a firebrand at a critical period in American history.

It was during Washington's administration that the site of the future capital was laid off on the banks of the Potomac; and he took a close and active interest, not only in the plans for mapping out the streets and squares of the projected city, but also in the designs for the public buildings. Most appropriately, the future center of the political life of the nation was to bear his name.

Washington was keenly disquieted by a cabinet scandal which arose in connection with the ratification of Jay's Treaty. This involved Randolph, now Secretary of State. A letter from Fauchet, the French minister, to his Government was captured by the British and at once forwarded to the American Government. In this document he stated that he had been approached by Randolph. "It is all over," Randolph is reported by Fauchet to have remarked. "A civil war is about to ravage our unhappy country. Four men, by their talents, their influence, and their energy, may save it. But, debtors of English merchants, they will be deprived of their liberty if they take the smallest step. Could you lend them instantaneously funds to shelter them from English prosecution?" Fauchet's comment was, "Thus with some thousands of dollars, the Republic [France] could have decided on civil war or peace. Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have already their price."

Washington brought up the subject of the ratification of the treaty at a cabinet meeting before disclosing the contents of Fauchet's letter. Randolph, reversing his former

attitude towards that question, was now the only member who disapproved of the measure. On the following day, in the presence of two members of the cabinet, Washington handed the Fauchet letter to Randolph. Randolph vigorously denied the inference of guilt to be drawn from it, and Fauchet later on also declared that no charge against Mr. Randolph's personal integrity had been intended by him. Randolph issued an exculpatory pamphlet, but its effect was diminished by its embittered aspersions on Washington, which Randolph afterwards keenly regretted and for which he publicly apologized. His retention of his seat in the cabinet became by this incident impracticable, and he withdrew to private life.

Washington made two important tours of the country during his terms of office. One was taken through New England, the other through the Southern states. His object was to confirm and deepen the loyalty of the people to the national government. This was achieved not only by his presence among them in the character of their chief magistrate, but also by his patriotic replies to the fervent addresses which were made to him as he passed from town to town. Everywhere he was received with the most moving proofs of profound veneration. With characteristic interest in agriculture, as the principal industrial asset of his country as yet, he noted wherever he went the degree of development which that art had reached; and he studied with all the insight of his practical mind the other available resources of the regions through which he traveled.

One of the memorable events of Washington's administration was the publication of his Farewell Address in the columns of the *Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*. There has been some dispute as to the authorship of this immortal document. When Washington thought of retiring at the end of his first term, he submitted a large batch of notes to Madison, to be cast in the proper literary form. But when the end of his second term approached, he turned to Hamilton for assistance in redressing the text. "As it is important that a thing of this kind should be done with great care, and much

at leisure touched and retouched," wrote Hamilton, in promising to comply with the request, "I submit a wish that, as soon as you have given it the body you mean it to have, it may be sent to me." However far the original memoranda were expanded by Madison and however extensively revised by Hamilton, certainly the manuscript was submitted for publication in his own handwriting and with many additions and alterations from his own pen inscribed on the margin. This great state paper breathes his spirit from the first to the last sentence. It has all the simplicity of his most characteristic utterances and an exaltation of patriotic sentiment, a profundity of practical wisdom, a breadth of foresight, and a transparent disinterestedness that have justly raised it to the height of an inspired expression, such as has rarely sprung from the minds of the greatest statesmen in history.

Washington was present at his successor's inauguration. "At the close of the ceremony," one of his biographers has recorded, "the late President moved towards the door to retire, and immediately there was a rush from the gallery to the corridor that threatened the loss of life or limb. So eager were the throng to catch the last look of one who had been so long the object of public veneration! When he was in the street, he waved his hat in return for the cheers of the multitude, his countenance radiant with benignity, his gray hairs streaming in the wind. The crowd followed him to his door; there turning around, his countenance assumed a grave and almost melancholy expression, his eyes were bathed in tears, his emotions were too great for utterance, and only by gestures could he indicate his thanks and convey his farewell blessing."

Such was the last appearance on the public stage of the greatest of all American heroes. He withdrew to Mount Vernon, where he spent the few remaining days of his existence in the performance of those rural duties and in the enjoyment of those rural diversions which were more agreeable to his natural tastes than the sounds of war or the discussions of the cabinet. Only once was his recall to the prov-

ince of active public life threatened. In July, 1798, when hostilities with France seemed impending, he was appointed by Congress to the command of all the armies already raised or to be raised for the field. That black cloud finally vanished, but in the meanwhile Washington had died at Mount Vernon. "Doctor," he said to his physician a short time before he expired, "I die hard, but I am not afraid to go." His last words were, "Tis well."

Chapter II

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

THE PORTRAYAL which we have so far given to Jefferson has been confined to his activities as a member of the General Assembly and of Congress and as governor of Virginia. His incumbency of these posts had enabled him to acquire a thorough understanding of the conditions and sentiments that prevailed in his own commonwealth and in the United States at large. The next office which he held opened up opportunities for his obtaining an equally complete knowledge of the political policies and commercial advantages of the European nations. As early as 1781 he had been compelled by his wife's feeble health to decline a foreign mission. Afterwards, he accepted an appointment to serve as minister plenipotentiary to negotiate peace with England, but the adoption of a provisional treaty with that country made it unnecessary for him to leave his native shores.

In 1784 he was chosen by Congress, along with Adams and Franklin, to arrange for commercial agreements with all those countries of Europe which had not yet entered into such compacts.

After the departure of Adams and Franklin from Paris, Jefferson became the minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Versailles. To assure his success in this great office, he possessed three distinct advantages: first, a wide acquaintance among the French officers who had served in the Revolutionary War and who now numbered amongst themselves some of the most influential men in the Kingdom; second, as an American, he was looked upon with universal good will by the French;

and third, as a man, he was as much admired and respected as Franklin. In fact, he was distinguished for all the finished urbanity, the suave tactfulness, and the refinement of taste which were particularly in harmony with the fastidious breeding of the French.

The trade purposes which he had principally in view were the introduction into France of American whale oil and salted fish and meat, under a tariff sufficiently low to leave room for a satisfactory profit; the admission of Carolina rice on a footing of equality with African and Asian rice; and the at least partial relaxation of the King's contract for tobacco with the farmers-general, which in reality restricted to them the entire importation of this American product. Ultimately, he was successful either in removing these commercial barriers entirely or in measurably lowering them. In 1787 he made a tour of Southern France, in the course of which he studied the economic conditions of that region, but more especially as they related to agriculture. He had in view a collection of facts about that art which could be used to the advantage of his own people. Wherever he went he inspected the different crops and was particularly interested in certain species of rice and olives which he thought could be reproduced in the soil of the Southern states.

It was at the hour when the revolutionary phase of public opinion was rapidly expanding that Jefferson, the representative of the infant Republic beyond the Atlantic—partly the child of France, and hailed as the beacon of political freedom for the whole world—arrived in Paris. He was known to all Frenchmen as the author of the Declaration of Independence, already considered to be the great charter of the natural rights of mankind, and as the draftsman of the Virginia statute of religious liberty, which, rejecting the principle of the union of church and state, left to all men an unobstructed field wherein to follow the dictates of their own consciences in all matters of religious belief. They accepted him, not as an idealistic and speculative political philosopher, but as a tested veteran in the mighty struggle for political liberty and as a student versed in all the learn-

ing of the ancients and moderns respecting democratic government. As far as was prudent and becoming, he responded privately to the public desire for his advice. Not only did he regularly attend the debates at Versailles, but he also quietly gathered about him in his drawing-room in Paris the most distinguished representatives of the new political forces abroad in France. To Lafayette particularly he made numerous suggestions that were afterwards translated into action. In 1787, for instance, he recommended the adoption by the Notables of a constitution modeled on the English, not because he considered the English Constitution to be the best conceivable for France, but because he thought it to be the best then attainable. In addition, he urged (1) that the people's delegates should meet at least once a year; (2) that all laws should originate with them; (3) that they should lay and appropriate all taxes; (4) that all existing pecuniary privileges and exemptions should be abolished; and (5) that liberty of conscience, freedom of the press, the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by jury should be guaranteed by a formal bill of rights. So profound was the impression which was made by these suggestions that when the Assembly appointed a committee to draft a national constitution, he was invited to attend its sessions and give its members the benefit of his constructive advice, but he declined, on the ground that he was accredited to the King.

Jefferson entered Europe a patriotic American; he departed from its shores not enervated in this loyal spirit by its polished civilization or weakened in his political convictions by the subtle blandishments of its salons and courts. On the contrary, he was invigorated in his respect and love for his native land and stiffened in his devotion to its free institutions by all that he had observed in the splendid avenues or in the miserable purlieus of the Old World.

In 1789 he returned to the United States on a temporary leave of absence, and on arriving at Norfolk by sea, he read in the columns of the local paper that he had been appointed Secretary of State by President Washington. Somewhat reluctantly at first he accepted the post. Taking up its duties

in New York, the capital at that time, he was soon shocked on finding himself—so recently from the atmosphere of a people about to throw off the monarchical system—in the atmosphere of a community which he suspected of a desire to restore that system at least in a modified form. Politics, he said, was the chief topic at the Manhattan dinner parties, and a preference for kingly government over republican was palpably the favorite sentiment. His exaggerated apprehensions were further increased by what he termed "the frenzy" to extol and exalt the President. Washington's head butler was known as the "steward of the household"; his coach, as the "state carriage"; and his wife, as his "consort." To counteract the influence of all this supposed winking at monarchy—which was chiefly imaginary—the new Secretary of State went about in a pair of red breeches as a symbol of his opposition to all this flummery, as he considered it, without the need of a more formal protest.

When Jefferson took his seat in the cabinet in April, 1789, the frame of the government had had some time to settle down in a permanent groove. Congress was holding its second session; the Supreme Court had convened; and the departments had organized. In the beginning, the most conspicuous figure in the administration after the President was Alexander Hamilton. During the first months the intercourse of the two secretaries was quietly friendly, but they were never then or afterwards on an intimate or sympathetic footing. Jefferson, however, was able to speak of his colleague without bitterness even after the antagonism between their political principles had come clearly to the surface. "He is a man of acute understanding," Jefferson is recorded as saying, "disinterested, honest, honorable in all private transactions, yet so bewitched and perverted by the British example as to be under the thorough conviction that corruption is essential to the government of a nation."

Popular excitement had been caused by Hamilton's financial measures even before Jefferson reached New York. From the beginning he did not approve at all of the manner in which the domestic debt was to be funded. "Hamilton,"

PLATE II. *From a portrait by Stuart at Bowdoin College. Photo Cook.*

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON

he said, "made no difference between the original holders and the fraudulent purchasers of the certificates. When the test vote in Congress had indicated the form in which the bill would pass—this being known within doors sooner than without, and especially soon to those who were in distant parts of the Union,—the scramble began. Couriers and relay horses by land and swift sailing pilot boats by sea were plying in all directions. Native partners and agents were associated and employed in every state, town, and county neighborhood, and this paper was bought up at five shillings, and even as low as two shillings, in the pound, before the holder knew that Congress had already provided for its redemption at par. Immense sums were thus filched from the poor and ignorant, and fortunes accumulated by those who had been poor enough before."

Now there can be no doubt that there was more than a single grain of truth in these acrid words of Jefferson. But if there was a less objectionable plan than Hamilton's, why did he not suggest it? He endeavored at a later day, when he was at odds with his former colleague for one reason or another, to explain this silence. "I had been so long abroad," he said, "that I had lost all familiarity with the subject. I took no concern in it." But if the funding acts were as palpably bad as he afterwards represented them to be, why did he consider them to be no concern of his?

Whether or not Jefferson, when these funding measures were under discussion, failed, as he seems to have done, to regard them with the positive virulence which they inspired in him in the long retrospect of after life, the same cannot be said of his opposition to the establishment of a national bank. His undisguised soreness in looking back on the funding acts apparently was chiefly produced by the conviction that Hamilton had been seeking to strengthen his position in public life by winning through these measures the good will of all the bankers, stockjobbers, and speculators in the country, who, he knew, possessed a large degree of political influence. It is true that Jefferson objected to the national bank bill for this reason, but there was another reason, too,

for disapproving of that bill which had much more weight with him. This was the use of what he looked upon as the trumped-up implied powers of the Constitution which Hamilton was compelled to invoke as the only means of obtaining the authority of that instrument to found the institution. In this strained interpretation of the document's text, Jefferson discovered another proof of his colleague's purpose to expand the national government's jurisdiction unduly; and the very ingenuity and subtlety of the device made it appear to him all the more dangerous. The effect of the funding and assumption measures, so far as they exercised an evil influence, would, he knew, be more or less temporary, but the doctrine of implied powers by which it was sought to justify the establishment of the bank, if admitted, could be employed interminably for the further concentration of authority in the central government, until ultimately that government would evolve into an arbitrary despotism.

By the time that all Hamilton's financial schemes had become law—and these also included the acts relating to internal taxation and customs duties for the encouragement of manufactures—Jefferson had grown more openly distrustful of the political designs of the Secretary of the Treasury and his partisans. In the opposing political convictions of these two great men, as reflected in the first acts of the administration, lay the beginning of parties in the United States. The voters who supported Hamilton's views came to be known as the Federalists, while those who supported Jefferson's were given at first the name of Anti-Federalists, which later on was supplanted by the name Republicans, and finally by the name Democrats. The Federalists predominated in New England; the Republicans in the South; while the political sentiment of the Middle States was divided. The Republicans were successful in winning a majority of the seats in the House of Representatives in the election of 1792—a fact which Jefferson regarded with exultant satisfaction, for in his opinion it indicated that the tide had turned in favor of the true principles of the Constitution.

The gap between himself and Hamilton, already great, was perceptibly widened by this triumph of the Republican party; and their differences were further emphasized by a series of other events which soon took place. The first was the establishment of a newspaper by the poet Freneau, a clerk in the state department, and a protégé of Jefferson and Madison. This journal began at once a sharp attack on Hamilton and his measures, while with equal zeal it commended the Secretary of State and his principles. Hamilton was quickly convinced that the darts aimed at him had really come from his colleague's quiver and that this colleague was conspiring with Madison to destroy his public influence by undermining his personal and political standing. Anonymous articles now rapidly succeeded each other in his own journal, in which Jefferson was assaulted with gloves off; and the author even went so far as to charge him with the commission of some vague form of peculation. The antagonism between the two men grew so patent that Washington finally perceived it. He wrote each a letter in which he begged with pathetic eagerness that they should cease their personal variances. "How unfortunate it is," he said, "that, when we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies and insidious foes, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. My earnest wish and my fondest hope are that, instead of wounding, suspicious, and irritating charges, there might be liberal allowances, mutual forbearance, and yielding on all sides."

But not even the prayers of the venerated Washington could close the breach between the two secretaries. It showed itself conspicuously in their attitude towards each other in the settlement of the vexatious questions raised by the foolish actions of Genêt. Jefferson's predilections for the French made him eager to influence his countrymen to distinguish between that nation and their minister, whose infatuated course he disapproved of as thoroughly as Hamilton did. He did not believe that the French people's true sentiment towards the American people was reflected in the irrational behavior of the hotheaded, impetuous envoy. "Their real

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feeling," he wrote Gouverneur Morris, the American minister in Paris, "is one of friendship, which dictates to us to bear with Genêt's conduct yet awhile, lest the interest of his nation here suffer injury."

When Genêt refused to give an explicit promise to hold back in the port of Philadelphia the *Little Democrat*, now ready to go out to sea, Hamilton and Knox impatiently advised that a battery should be planted on Mud Island below the city, with orders to the men in charge to fire point-blank upon the French privateer, should it, when challenged, attempt to run by. Jefferson was thrown into a state of acute alarm by this vigorous proposal. "Blood once spilled between nation and nation," he said, "the door of peace is shut. At this moment, we expect in the Delaware River, twenty French ships of war, with a fleet from one hundred to one hundred and fifty of their private vessels, which would arrive in time to continue the fight. Actual commencement of hostilities against a nation is an act of too serious consequences to our country to be brought on their heads by subordinate officers. It is inconsistent for a nation which has been patiently bearing for ten years the grossest insults and injuries from their old enemies, the English, to rise at a feather against their friends and benefactors, and that too at a moment when the little subjects of displeasure are the acts of a particular individual, not yet important enough to have been carried to his government as causes of complaint."

When, later on, Genêt had thrown off the last rag of diplomatic decency, Hamilton and Knox and even Washington favored his summary dismissal, but Jefferson earnestly counseled that the French Government's action upon his own letter, already written for the minister's recall, should be quietly awaited before any further step should be taken. Although his advice smacked of timidity, nevertheless it demonstrated his good sense and his magnanimity alike.

In 1790 Jefferson brought forward an elaborate plan for securing uniformity in the coinage, weights, and measures of the United States. In this plan he recommended that the

standard of measure should be an unvarying cylindrical rod of iron, of such length as, in latitude 45° on the level of the ocean or in a cellar or some other place of a more or less even temperature, would perform its vibrations in small and equal areas in one second of mean time. In 1786 the government had nominally adopted a different money standard for accounts and payments. This, in its parts and multiples, was in the decimal ratio. The mere proposal of this change had won wide popular approval, and only the actual coinage was needed to rid the country of the English pound, shilling, and penny. Jefferson objected to these old units, not only as unscientific in themselves, but also as calculated to remind the American people of their former connection with the British Empire. He suggested that the present measures of length should be retained and regulated by an unvarying standard, while the unit of capacity, now so equivocal, should be settled within a convenient time.

When plans for the lay-off of the new capital on the banks of the Potomac were under discussion, it was Jefferson who suggested that the projected district should cover an area ten miles in length and breadth and that the space to be reserved for the president's residence and its offices and gardens should cover two squares; for the capitol and its offices, one square; and for the several structures which would be needed by the departments, two squares. He recommended that the streets should run at right angles, with a width of one hundred feet for the highways and fifteen for the footway on either side. Eight acres should be embraced in each square, and each lot should have the breadth of fifty feet. He objected to any plan that would require the front walls of the houses to be built on the same line, for this, he said, would produce a "disgusting monotony," as in the city of Philadelphia. He also favored restricting the height of these houses, as a means of keeping down the price of the ground on which they stood, of diminishing the inconvenience of stairways, of preserving the access of light, and of minimizing the damage from fire.

Jefferson withdrew from the post of secretary of state

before the expiration of Washington's second term of the presidency. Although he had filled numerous public offices of importance, nevertheless, there was nothing of the spirit of the office-seeker in his natural disposition. In his oft expressed longing to retire to Monticello there was palpably not the slightest taint of insincerity. In January, 1794, in spite of the President's importunities to the contrary, he returned to his home in Virginia, "where," he said, "I hope to spend the remainder of my days in occupations infinitely more pleasing to me than those to which I have sacrificed eighteen years of the prime of my life." But from the shades of this congenial seclusion he was to be withdrawn within a few years to hold the two highest political offices in the gift of the people—honors, however, which gave him far less satisfaction than the triumph, by his election, of the principles for which he had striven from the threshold of his public career, and never so strenuously as during his incumbency of the great office of secretary of state.

In 1796 the question arose: who should succeed President Washington? For the first time there was to be a contest for the supreme post in the national government; and under the system then prevailing, the person who received in the electoral college the second largest number of votes was to be declared the incumbent of the vice-presidency. Jefferson did not really desire the tenure of the first office, but he had no objection to that of the second, as it would give him an opportunity to aid in increasing the power of the Republican party.

The first step towards his nomination for the presidency was taken in 1793 in Boston, by members of that party who resided there. The Jay Treaty had been ratified in 1795 and was to go into effect in 1796. The embittered controversy raging about this treaty in the year of the election had a powerful influence in preventing him from refusing to permit the use of his name as a candidate for the presidency. He had been keenly hostile to that treaty, as it was in his opinion an entirely unnecessary national humiliation. By firm yet just conduct in 1793, he said afterwards, we

might have obtained full respect for our neutral rights; but during the campaign he gave expression to no opinion on any of the principles of the national contest then in progress. Had he taken a more public part in it, his election perhaps would have followed. He was chosen vice-president by only three votes less than the seventy-one which had conferred the higher office on John Adams. With characteristic promptness he took out of his desk the manuscript of a set of parliamentary rules which he had drawn up many years before, in expectation of election to a seat in the General Assembly of Virginia. This manuscript was afterwards enlarged into his celebrated *Manual of Parliamentary Practice.*

On his arrival in Philadelphia he found that a rupture with France was impending, in consequence of the lawless acts of French privateers, and he also learned that the new President had under advisement the dispatch to that country of an imposing mission. The tide of public sentiment had turned against France and the Republican party was feeling the effects of this political chill. The upshot of the mission, which disclosed a state of extreme corruption among the leading French statesmen, only served to discredit the Republican party still more. But this condition in that party was soon reversed by the adoption of the Alien and Sedition Laws. The first authorized President Adams to expel from the country "all such aliens as he should judge to be dangerous to its peace and safety." The second law was still more arbitrary, for it empowered the President to impose both a heavy fine and a long imprisonment for any criticism passed by anyone on any regulation of Congress or in defamation of the American Government and its high officials.

From the presiding seat in the Senate, Jefferson kept a calculating eye on the public effect of these senseless measures. He thought that they were really designed to be the first step towards the abrogation of the Constitution and the removal of all checks on dictatorial power. "Nor can I be confident of their failure," he remarked, "after the duping of which our countrymen have shown themselves suscep-

tible." He assumed a posture of vigorous opposition to these acts of the administration through the medium of private correspondence; and he soon obtained the energetic coöperation of Madison and other writers of the like political convictions. Even he at times gave way to despondency, and it was in a fit of this kind that he wrote to his daughter "of the rancorous passion which tore every breast in the capital, even of the sex which should be a stranger to them. Politics and party hatreds dash the happiness of every being here."

But this emotion was only temporary. In 1798 Madison and he struck a public blow directly at the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Kentucky Resolutions drafted by Jefferson, and the Virginia by Madison declared these laws "to be void and of no force" because repugnant to the Constitution. Jefferson publicly warned that "these and successive acts of this same nature, unless arrested at the threshold, will necessarily drive these States into revolution and blood." Adams, fortunately, was more discreet and conservative than Hamilton and on Minister Gerry's return from his mission to France took steps to restore friendly relations with that country. Hamilton resented the independent course pursued by the President, and it was largely due to his exasperation that Jefferson was subsequently elected to the presidency in the crisis which arose in the House of Representatives. "I will never more," Hamilton wrote a member of the Federalist party, "be responsible for Adams by my direct support, even though the consequence should be the election of Jefferson. If we must have an enemy at the head of the government, let it be one whom we can oppose, and for whom we are not responsible." The effect of these schemings was to hasten the Republican triumph.

Before the actual vote for a successor to Adams was cast, Jefferson withdrew from the furnace of politics and amused himself at Monticello by corresponding with friends on scientific topics, contriving a whirligig chair, and overlooking his plantation and servants. It was during this interval that he was made the target for every variety of slanderous dart

which his enemies could invent to his damage. He was charged with the acquisition of the greater part of his estate by robbing a widow and her children; with the possession of a mulatto harem; with atheism and contempt for Christianity as a system; and finally, with anarchical sympathies. No accusation was too black or too preposterous in itself to be unserviceable with these crawling maligners.

The election was transferred to the House of Representatives, with Jefferson and Aaron Burr at first in the van in the race, but with Jefferson at the close the successful competitor. Hamilton cast his influence in the scales in Jefferson's favor—not that he was kindly disposed towards his old rival in the cabinet, but because he felt less hostile to him than to Burr. One of Jefferson's first acts after his election was to write sympathetically to a number of men who, under the previous administration had, for one reason or another, been proscribed for opinion's sake—to Samuel Adams, who, he said, had been "avoided, insulted and frowned on"; to Dr. Priestley, who had been threatened with expulsion under the Alien Law; and to Thomas Paine, to whom he offered a passage from France to America in a government vessel.

The new cabinet was one of great ability, and its members had further commended themselves to Jefferson for appointment by their sacrifices and sufferings in different ways for the benefit of the Republican party. There were James Madison, whom Jefferson eulogized for "a pure and spotless virtue which calumny in vain had attempted to sully," an accomplished writer and an equally accomplished debater; Albert Gallatin, a Genevan by birth, who, like Lafayette, had enlisted in the American army under Washington, had been elected Senator from Pennsylvania ten years after his arrival in that state, and had been an unwavering supporter of democratic principles, although of aristocratic descent; Levi Lincoln, who, in spite of being a citizen of Massachusetts, abhorred Federalism; Henry Dearborn, who had endured all the horrors of the march through Maine to Canada under Arnold and served with distinction in Congress; and Robert Smith and Gideon Granger, eminent lawyers.

It was noted at the time that every member of this cabinet had enjoyed a classical education and was a keen lover of science in one form or another.

Jefferson's administration began in 1801 and ended in 1809. He was urged to run for a third term by seven states as far apart locally as Vermont and Georgia. Of the seventeen commonwealths voting in his second election, fourteen cast the majority of their ballots for the Republican candidate. The Federalists could count only twenty-seven members on the benches of the House and only five on those of the Senate. So firmly entrenched was the Republican party in 1809 that Jefferson was able to transmit the presidency for eight years to a successor of his own choice; and that successor in turn practically named the incumbent for another eight years—twenty-four years in all, a lease of power that was the fruit of Jefferson's political acumen, and not of his demagoguery, as his enemies bitterly asserted.

After the first two years of his administration, in the course of which twenty-six Federalists had been asked to resign for cause, he rarely displaced an incumbent in order to appoint a substitute. At the same time, all offices that could be suppressed without injury to the public welfare were done away with, and a policy of strict economy was enforced. He also introduced a bald simplicity into the etiquette of the presidential mansion. The first step was to abolish the weekly levee; the next, to abandon the rules of precedence. He sent his messages to Congress by his secretary instead of reading them to that body, like Washington and Adams, in person. He refused to countenance the public celebration of his birthday or to issue proclamations of national thanksgiving. He declined to receive presents in office. By every means in his power he stimulated the expansion of science and encouraged exploration in the West. He dispatched Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, to the Pacific Coast, and Pike to the peak of that name; and it was due to him that John Jacob Astor established a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River.

What were the principal foreign events of Jefferson's political administration? When he mounted to the presidency, the relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers were simply those of absolute submissiveness to all the Corsairs' demands. His first act of importance in that connection was to dispatch a sloop and three frigates to the Mediterranean to cruise up and down those waters for the protection of American commerce. The gallantry of Decatur and his comrades in performing this task restored the American self-respect; and it was their example which brought about European coöperation for the final suppression of these insolent outlaws. Their exploits make up a splendid chapter in the history of a ruler who was supposed to be always ready to offer extreme concessions for the preservation of peace.

The acquisition of Louisiana was an achievement which grows in magnitude with the passage of the years. When there was danger in 1790 that this vast region would slip from Spain to Great Britain by the seizure of New Orleans, Jefferson had advised Washington to declare war should so grave a measure be necessary to prevent such possession of that great territory after his administration had begun. In 1801 there was a rumor reported by the American representatives in Europe that Louisiana was about to be ceded to Bonaparte by Spain; and in the following January the prospect of such an occurrence was so imminent that Jefferson informed Livingston, the American minister at Paris, that the American Government would not consent to any arrangement which would give the French control of the mouth of the Mississippi. But Napoleon was not to be swerved from his purposes by the earnest remonstrances and warlike intimations of the American President. An order was issued by him for the dispatch of a formidable expedition to New Orleans, and a governor of the newly acquired region was also appointed. In vain Livingston solicited the intervention of Joseph Bonaparte.

In the meanwhile, there was brewing in the West a vigorous public sentiment in favor of seizing Louisiana with an army of volunteers. Under the pressure of the keen ap-

prehensions which this rumor caused him, Jefferson sent Monroe's name to the Senate to serve as a special envoy to France. A few months later Monroe disembarked at Havre, with instructions to offer two million dollars for the Isle of New Orleans, if it was not possible to purchase a larger area of the desired territory. The prospect of the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens had caused Napoleon to order his fleet to remain at Dunkirk, and he had already begun his preparations for war with England. Money in vast quantities was now needed by him, and even before Monroe reached Paris he was considering the sale, not simply of the Isle of New Orleans, but of the entire territory to the United States. This was a wise course to pursue, for when hostilities with Great Britain should break out, that country would be certain to seize the whole of Louisiana without making any compensation for it at all. He directed his ministers to open negotiation with Livingston without awaiting Monroe's arrival, and he fixed the purchasing price at fifty million francs. The sum finally agreed upon, after Monroe appeared, was fifteen million dollars.

When the bargain was concluded, Livingston exclaimed, "From this day the United States takes its place among the Powers of the first rank." Napoleon was still more pleased. "This accession," said he, "strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." It is a fact of singular interest that England approved of the cession. Jefferson was aware that the transaction was not constitutional, and he therefore proposed an amendment to legalize it, but the measure was not again seriously mentioned.

The death of Hamilton by Burr's pistol made Burr a fugitive and an adventurer for the rest of his life, although he completed the remainder of his term as vice-president. He in vain sought high office of Jefferson. Diverted from a legitimate career in public life, he turned his eyes to the western country, where he was soon deep in secret projects that excited public suspicion. Information of this fact hav-

ing been sent to Washington by the authorities of New Orleans, Jefferson issued a proclamation which brought to a halt the expedition that was making its way down the Mississippi. Burr was arrested and at Richmond tried on a charge of treason. At once the old feud between the Federalists and the Republicans came to the surface again. Burr was now favored by the Federalists, although in the past he had done so much to arouse their hatred to a white heat, even before he had shot down their leader in a duel. His principal counsel was Luther Martin, a drunken and bellowing enemy of Jefferson. The foremost lawyer for the prosecution was the cultured and charming William Wirt. It was even suggested by Marshall, who presided and who had recently dined with Burr, that the president could be exposed to the humiliation of being forced to appear as a witness. Burr was acquitted on technical grounds.

The fourth outstanding event of Jefferson's administration was the embargo. Why was this policy adopted? Chiefly because of the outrages committed by English naval officers against American rights on the sea. To persons of our era these outrages appear unbelievable. Coasting vessels were fired on without provocation, and their crews wounded or killed, while men-of-war were attacked in their own waters, and their sailors shot down or carried off as deserters from the British service. The broadside delivered against the *Chesapeake* by the *Leopard* aroused the whole of the United States. A frigate was sent to England with a demand for immediate reparation, and all British naval vessels were forbidden to enter the American harbors. If they did so, they were to be fired on. It was Jefferson's hope to avoid war if possible, but if it had to be declared, this step was to be announced as a last resort. Some apology was made by the English government for the assault on the *Chesapeake*, but that government displayed not the slightest disposition to give up the claim to the right of search. Indeed, this claim was boldly reasserted.

Jefferson had always been partial to non-intercourse as a political remedy. This policy he endeavored to put in force

in 1807 by ordering all American vessels to remain in their own harbors and by forbidding the exportation of native products in alien bottoms. The result bore hard on the interests of every citizen in every division of the Union, but it was practically destructive of the commerce of New England. Very naturally, though not very patriotically, its people refused to regard with favor what Jefferson had grandiloquently called "another umpire than arms," and it was this section which made the embargo ineffective, although it continued in force until the end of his term. It at least served the main purpose which he had always had in view, namely, the deferrence of actual hostilities.

Throughout his life Jefferson was an uncompromising advocate of democratic principles, but he was equally firm in his conviction that it was only an instructed people who could uphold those principles conservatively. He thought that education for all was necessary for the stability of a republican society. One of the earliest measures which he advised was a system of public schools, beginning with the primary at the bottom, and rising from that grade to colleges, in which the humanities were to be taught; and at the top, to a university, in which all the sciences were to be embraced in the various courses. His bill for the diffusion of knowledge, submitted for enactment to the Virginia General Assembly early in his career, found its consummation in the establishment of the University of Virginia of which he was the father—and in the adoption there of the elective order of studies, which he had recommended.

The system of public schools as conceived by him did not become the policy of the state until half a century or more had passed, but he was as truly the parent of that system as if he had been personally instrumental in putting it into operation. As the democratic idea, which he urged from the beginning to the end of his political career, has spread throughout the world, so the educational idea which he advocated has grown to be one of the most powerful of all the influences now at work for increasing the moral and intellectual enlightenment of mankind and for advancing material

prosperity. Jefferson was distinguished for the variety of his practical interests. He was not only a shrewd and far-seeing politician; he was not simply a competent architect with a taste of classical purity; he was also deeply versed in the art of agriculture. During many years he kept a meteorological record which was remarkable for its accuracy and unbroken continuity. He had been ambitious to invent a new mold board for his ploughs, and he was not content until he had succeeded in manufacturing one that won the formal approval of the English Board of Agriculture and the Gold Prize of the Society of Paris. He imported a reaping machine from Scotland and also the finest varieties of European sheep, hogs, and cattle for the improvement of the native breeds. He procured rice and olives for replanting in the soil of South Carolina, and was constantly distributing seeds, roots, and plants among the home agricultural societies, and experimenting with the use of various thorns as fences. America never produced a more useful citizen.

Chapter III

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS

LIKE THE large majority of the Virginians who took a predominant part in the events of the times before, during, and immediately after the Revolution, Meriwether Lewis was a member of a family of gentle descent. One of his father's uncles had occupied a seat in the Colonial Council, while another had married Washington's sister and was the owner of the famous Kenmore mansion, situated in Fredericksburg. Meriwether's own uncles on the paternal side had been officers of distinction in the colonial wars. On the maternal, his forebears had been residing in Albemarle County from the earliest settlement of the eastern slopes of the Southwest Mountains; and there was more than one landmark in that county which had taken its name from his ancestors—among them, Lewis Mountain, which, looking down upon the most classical landscape in Virginia, commands a distant view of the spot where the explorer was born.

At an age so early as to be almost unbelievable, Lewis had become an expert in the pursuit of the wild animals of the countryside which seek their food only under the shade of night. The lateness of the hour, the remoteness of the scene, and the harshness of the season failed to deter him from entering the forest with his faithful dogs upon the track of raccoon, wild cat, or even fiercer quarry. It is easy to comprehend that this taste for sport, this love of the open air spaces, so secluded in those times when the population of all that region was still widely dispersed, must have left a deep impression on the sensibilities of this precocious and in-

telligent lad. His home stood on rising ground only a few miles away from the base of the Blue Ridge. It lay directly in the evening shadow of a noble peak which shut off the western sky like a mighty wall, green with foliage in spring and white with snow in winter. How often must the thoughts of the inquisitive and adventurous boy have been turned to the scenes which were visible from that high mountain top as the spectator gazed across the great valley to the jumbled mass of the Alleghenies! How often must he himself have climbed the Ridge to gloat on these scenes! It was quite probably the vastness of this view which instilled into him a desire to push his local explorations to the broad prairies and deep rivers of the far West.

But young Lewis did not allow all his time to be taken up with manly sports or wanderings on the neighboring heights. After attending in turn several classical schools which had long enjoyed much more than a local reputation, he found himself at the age of eighteen with an education above the average. Returning to the farm which he had inherited, he remained there the ensuing two years, at the end of which his spirit seemed to have longed for a more active existence, for he joined the volunteers whom General Morgan had recruited for the suppression of the Whiskey Insurrection in western Pennsylvania. He passed from that temporary service into the regular army, and so exemplary was his conduct, so keen his predilection for his profession, that he was quickly advanced to the rank of lieutenant and afterwards to that of captain.

The first suggestion that Lewis should be authorized to explore the northwestern area of the continent came from himself, and at a time, too, when that region as a part of Louisiana was still a Spanish possession. It seems that Ledyard, with Jefferson's encouraging aid, had at an earlier date obtained the Russian Empress' permission to approach that remote quarter of the world by way of Kamchatka, but her consent had been withdrawn before he could cross the Straits. In 1792 Jefferson, still interested in the project, endeavored to enlist the resources of the American Philosoph-

ical Society in carrying it out. When Lewis heard of this application, he went to Jefferson and expressed his desire to be put at the head of the future expedition. Apparently to his bold spirit it would be no drawback should the number of explorers be limited to two individuals as had been proposed. Michaux, the distinguished French botanist, was preferred to Lewis by the Society, on account of his superior scientific training, but he was soon prohibited by the French Government from undertaking the mission at all.

The next time the subject came up was in 1803, when Jefferson in a special message suggested to Congress that an expedition should be dispatched to the mouth of the Missouri. From this spot it was expected to continue its journey up the valley of that stream until the foot of the Rockies should be reached. After this mighty backbone had been crossed, the expedition was to follow the headwaters of the Columbia until the main stream had been arrived at, and from this point the march was to be protracted until the mouth of that great river should come into view. Lewis was now the president's trusted private secretary and thus got his early knowledge that a plan to cross the continent was under consideration. So soon as Congress had adopted that plan, he again asked to be appointed the leader of the now approved enterprise.

Fortunately for himself, he enjoyed the confidence of Jefferson, who passed upon his qualifications the following comprehensive eulogium: "Of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guided by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves. With all these qualifications,

PLATE III. *From an old engraving by St. Memin. Photo Cook.*

MERIWETHER LEWIS

as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him."

It disclosed the eagerness and determination of the man to equip himself thoroughly for the post assigned him by the President that he quickly entered the lecture rooms of Philadelphia in order to learn the technical language of the natural sciences and to acquire the skill in taking the astronomical observations necessary in the course of his long journey through a hitherto unexplored region. At his request, Lieutenant William Clark, a native of his own county of Albemarle, and a brother of the celebrated George Rogers Clark, was associated with him in the expedition.

In the elaborate instructions which Lewis received from President Jefferson, provision was made for that part of the journey which would fall beyond the territory of the United States, for at the hour that the instructions were given the Louisiana Purchase had not been closed. Happily, this special provision was not needed, for before it could be practically followed the cession was an accomplished fact. The transfer occurred on April 30, 1803, but information of it did not reach Washington until July 1. On the fifth of the same month Lewis took his departure. The fundamental objects of the expedition were set forth clearly and precisely in his commission. These were: first, to find a waterway—if one existed with short portages—from the mouth of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Columbia; second, to note the names of the Indian nations visited, the number of the inhabitants, their occupations, domestic environments, diseases, laws, customs, and all other facts relating to them that would be of interest; third, to describe the animal and vegetable life of the country to be traversed, and also its mineral wealth; and fourth, to note the character of its climate.

Lewis was instructed to carry along with him a quantity of vaccine matter for use in teaching the Indians how to ward off smallpox, the constant scourge of their villages. They were to be treated with the most scrupulous good

faith, and their influential chiefs encouraged and assisted to visit the city of Washington. Should opposition to passage through the country be offered by the savages to an extent that would jeopardize the whole party's security, the expedition was not to endeavor to push its way through by force. "By returning safely with the information you have acquired," said Jefferson, "you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means." Lewis was authorized, after his arrival at the Pacific, to return to the United States by sea around Cape Horn or even around Cape of Good Hope, should the tramp back overland be too hazardous to be repeated. He received letters of credit on the American Government with which he could supply his party, in any division of the world, with whatever they should at any time be found to need. Finally, in anticipation of his death or complete disablement in the course of his journey, he was given the power to name the person who should take his place as commander.

Who were Lewis's most trusted companions in the march across the continent? High above them all was his lieutenant, William Clark, whose name will be always associated with his own in the history of that great adventure. Like Lewis, he was a Virginian by birth, but his early life was passed in Kentucky, in the vicinity of the site of the modern city of Louisville. Even in boyhood he took part in the excursions against the Indian towns and so much courage did he show in danger that he was described by one officer as being as "brave as Caesar." As a first lieutenant he fought in Anthony Wayne's successful campaign north of the Ohio, but he was residing quietly on his farm when invited by Lewis to join him as his first officer in the expedition organized for the exploration of the Northwest. After Clark, Lewis's principal subordinate was Sergeant Floyd, who belonged to a frontier family that had long been friendly with Daniel Boone. Floyd's name stands out in the history of the expedition for several conspicuous reasons: (1) he was the only member of it who died during its progress; (2) he was the first American soldier to breathe his

last in the Louisiana Territory, where his faithful services and the sacrifice of his life have been rewarded with an imposing monument; and finally (3) his diary of the expedition is second in valuable detail only to the journals of Lewis and Clark themselves.

Patrick Gass, another useful subordinate, who held the rank of sergeant, did not pass away until 1870. He had crossed the Alleghenies as a lad in a crate strapped to the side of a pack horse. At an early age he had become an expert woodsman and hunter, capable of enduring any hardship and shrinking from no danger. Indeed, before he had reached his twenty-second year, he had made the trip by water to New Orleans, from which he had returned to Pittsburgh by way of Cuba and Philadelphia. John Shields was described as the Tubal-Cain of the party, and it was through his skill as a repairer of rifles and maker of battle-axes that bread and meat were obtained from the savage tribes in many hours of severe want. Two other men assisted in the same practical tasks, namely, Bratton and Willard, who were gunsmiths by trade. The Indians were especially impressed with the powers of the latter two. "Had I your white warriors in the upper plains," said a Gros Ventres chief to Lewis, "my young men on horseback would soon do for them as they would for so many wolves, for," continued he, "there are only two sensible men among them, the worker of iron and the mender of guns."

Toussaint Chaboneau was useful to Lewis through his services as an interpreter. He was a French Canadian by birth and his many years' residence in Indian villages had made him proficient in their various languages. But his principal claim to distinction in the expedition's history lay in the fact that he was the husband of Sacajawea. When this Indian heroine was still a child, she had been captured by the enemies of her native tribe, the Shoshones, and carried off, only to be sold to Chaboneau, with whom she wandered about the prairies until he was engaged by Lewis to accompany him to the Pacific. In all that brave and hardy train which crossed the continent, there was not one person

who exhibited more fidelity to the expedition, more helpfulness in advancing its objects, more staunchness in enduring its privations than she. In the midst of the lewdness displayed by the women of the tribes whose domains were traversed, she maintained a perfect correctness of behavior, which, with her loyalty to the party, her power of defying every extreme of the climate, and her intelligence as a guide, won the respect, affection, and gratitude of all her associates.

It is calculated that Sacajawea tramped over a path five thousand miles in length without a murmur of complaint, although she was bearing at her back the weight of a healthy papoose. When she reached the region of her birth, situated at the mouth of the three tributaries which, uniting, formed the upper Missouri, her presence was peculiarly valuable, for her return propitiated the good will of the Shoshones, now governed by her brother as their principal chief, and thus enabled the explorers to pass without serious molestation through that country. Her local information was also useful in pointing out the trail to be taken in crossing the neighboring great chain of mountains. It was not until she had clambered up the vast ridges of the Rockies, going and returning in the long journey, that she finally parted from her white companions, and only then at her husband's command, when they arrived at the Mandan villages situated in the valley of the lower Missouri.

The starting place of the expedition was the mouth of the Missouri. Here on May 15, 1804, Captain Clark, the second officer in command, gave the signal for the first step to be taken in a western journey which was to end at the mouth of the Columbia on the other side of the continent. At this hour Lewis was busy at St. Louis in making the final arrangements for the success of his plans, and it was only after five days had passed that he overtook the main body. The whole force, counting Lewis and Clark themselves, numbered forty-three persons. The vehicles of transportation used at first were a bateau fifty-five feet in length propelled by sail and oar, and two flat boats, known in local parlance as peroques, propelled by oar alone. Wherever the

river bank was clear of impediments, recourse was had to towing by hand. The average rate of speed ranged from twelve to fifteen miles in the course of twenty-four hours. The freight of this little fleet embraced a large quantity of meat, flour, guns, powder, and shot, together with gifts to propitiate the Indian chiefs, besides numerous other articles that would be needed by the explorers themselves, such as tools, clothing, medicines, and the like. The most careful provision was made for recording with minuteness the daily events of the expedition, as well as the scientific observations to be taken during its progress.

When the explorers reached the village of La Charette, they were welcomed by the celebrated frontiersman and woodsman, Daniel Boone. He was now on the threshold of his eighty-sixth year, but he still retained much of his old stalwartness of limb, erectness of figure, and staunchness of spirit. He had pushed thus far into the wilderness in order to escape from the ever increasing population of his old haunts in the East. The Great Plains which spread away on all sides of him to the horizon were still occupied only by the wild Indian, the buffalo and antelope, and the fur-bearing animals which he was so skillful in trapping in spite of the handicap of age.

During the first stages of their advance up the Missouri, the experiences of the adventurers were saved from monotony from day to day by frequent cloudbursts, violent winds, ledges of rocks at the bottom of the river, treacherous sand-bars, hidden snags, and swarms of insatiable mosquitoes. Their lives were further varied by the pursuit of wild game on shore to replenish the larder of the boats. The only persons of their own color whom they encountered were trappers or fur-traders floating down to St. Louis to find buyers for their peltries. At intervals they noticed grotesque figures traced on the rock surfaces of the bluffs by the crude instruments of prehistoric savages. In June the sight of the first rattlesnakes, three of which were killed, was recorded; and the first bear was slain not far from the same scene. Numerous deer were also shot, and their meat was preserved

by a method known as "jerking," which consisted of cutting it into small strips and drying it in the sun or over a fire. There was no need of salt in the process.

In skirting the site of the modern Kansas City, flocks of paroquets were seen. This spot had been presumed to be too far north even for the summer haunts of these tropical birds, but later travelers also confirmed their presence in that neighborhood.

The explorers revealed their patriotism, as they passed along, in the names which they gave to the streams that flowed into the main river. The month being July, they christened one the Fourth of July; another, the Independence; and the latter name yet survives as a reminder of the expedition. The prairies opened wide on either shore, and the grass which carpeted their surface afforded rich provender to innumerable wild geese from the north. About the middle of the month they also saw on these vast plains the first elk to fall under their eyes. The unwholesome sediment that was mixed with the river water caused at this time an epidemic of sickness in the party that took the form of small but painful tumors under the arms or on the legs. But these readily yielded to poultices of elm bark or Indian meal.

It was not until July 28 that they ran upon the Indians. The party had been navigating the river ever since May 14 and had traversed a distance of nearly seven hundred miles, but so far, the explorers do not appear to have seen, or at least to have had any intercourse with, the native tribes. A council with representatives of the Otoes nation was held early in August, and the meeting was opened by a gift of watermelons brought from the Indian gardens. In spite of this act of friendliness, every man on either side remained on his guard. The conference, however, ended peacefully, and numerous medals were handed to the chiefs, accompanied in each case by a present of paint, garters, and a bottle of whiskey. A few days afterwards the explorers passed the burial spot of the famous chief Blackbird, which was situated on a hill rising about three hundred feet above the surface of the river. The actual grave was in the shape of a mound

and was about eight feet in height. On its top a tall pole had been erected, to which the leader of the expedition attached a large white flag bordered with red, blue, and white stripes. Blackbird had died of smallpox, a distemper which from time to time decimated the Indian villages. His skull is now in the National Museum at Washington.

The explorers were soon saddened by the necessity of preparing a grave for their own brave Sergeant Floyd. One of the many remarkable facts of this great expedition was that in spite of the long exposure to the perils of the streams navigated one after another, the arrows of Indian foes, the fangs of rattlesnakes, the teeth and claws of grizzly bears, the lurking poison of dysentery and smallpox, and the passage of precipitous mountains, Floyd was the only member of the company to die, and he expired in a natural way. He is reported to have breathed his last in a spirit of soldierly composure. An occasional desertion took place as the explorers penetrated more deeply into the wild Northwest. After capture, the fugitive's punishment does not seem to have been severe. The sentence passed upon him generally was that he should "run the gauntlet four times through the whole party; and that each man, with nine switches, should strike him." After this scene he was no longer considered to be a member of the expedition.

By September the weather had begun to grow cold, raw, and windy, but this was cheerfully endured by the explorers, since they were now faring to repletion on buffalo humps, antelope and elk steaks, venison, beaver tails, wild turkeys, Canada geese, and fish. About this time, on descending a hill, they stumbled upon a large village of prairie dogs. Here they killed a rattlesnake which had devoured one of these little creatures, in spite of the presumptive friendliness of the two species when living together. The holes were found to be so deep that it required not less than five barrels of water to be poured into them before the occupants could be driven out. Other animals besides the prairie dog were seen in extraordinary number in this region—among them herds of antelope, buffalo, and elk, and packs of hunting

wolves. Birds of many varieties were also noted feeding on the surface of the river or on the broad prairies.

The dangers encountered from day to day were of a very diverse character. Sometimes the boats were tied up to sand banks which in the night would be undermined by the water and would tumble in unexpectedly; or the Indian visitors to the boats, when asked to leave, would refuse to do so, and in order to detain the explorers, would seize the cable and hold on persistently until they had received additional gifts. On one memorable occasion Clark was menaced with personal violence, and he escaped only by ordering his men to point the swivel at the crowding Indians, now threatening with their bows to attack. Quiet was in the end restored, but a catastrophe had been avoided only by the firmness of Captain Clark's attitude.

Lewis was accompanied by a very black Negro servant. The Indians had never before seen a man with so dark a skin. Wherever he went they eagerly flocked around him and inquisitively examined his face and hands; and he was asked, too, to strip off all his clothes to show whether or not he was also black from foot to neck. The grinning lackey was delighted with these attentions and, as one of the diarists of the expedition has recorded, "made himself more turrible than we wished him to do." He was not "turrible" in any way in the eyes of the Indian belles, and some of the offspring of this sable traveler's amours are said to survive still in the West.

By the middle of October the explorers had reached the mouth of Cannon Ball River, which derived its name from the curious round stones found on its banks. They ranged in size from a musket ball to a large bomb. Soon afterwards the expedition entered the teeming Mandan town near the spot where the Missouri turns towards the northwest, and here they quickly erected a fort to serve as their winter quarters. The party had been advancing with few halts during a period of one hundred and sixty-five days. The site which they now chose was advantageous both from its proximity to wood and water and from the presence of game.

PLATE IV. *From an engraving after a painting by Charles Wilson Peale. Fridenberg Galleries.*

MERIWETHER LEWIS

Most of the men were set to work building huts, while the rest were directed to scatter about the prairie in pursuit of antelopes. By Christmas the cabins had been finished and a palisade thrown around the new village. On that day the American flag was hoisted over the fort, and the company indulged in festivities, made more lively by copious draughts of brandy.

Throughout the winter the adventurers' principal diversion was to hunt the vast herds of buffalo that were grazing over the face of the country. Sometimes they were accompanied by Indians, or the party was made up of whites alone, under the leadership of Captain Lewis or Captain Clark. The pursuit was fatiguing in consequence of the wide circuits which had to be taken before the quarry could be approached directly. The cold, too, was so extreme that the air was said to be filled with icy particles resembling a fog; and the snow was sometimes eighteen inches deep. Occasionally the men would be kept out all night, with only the fresh buffalo skins to shelter them from the piercing weather. Frequently as many as nine buffalo were killed in the course of one hunt. There were also brought into camp the carcasses of elk and deer.

The members of the expedition did not confine their diversions to the gun. Among them were several performers on the fiddle, and after nightfall the huts echoed to the sounds of dancing and singing.

While the winter had been passing, the boats had become incased in thick ice, and the men's earliest work in spring after the thaw had begun was to drag them out of the water in order to put them in good condition for the expected advance up the river. Numerous canoes were built to supplement the boats already ready for use. Before the explorers set out again on their northward journey, there was sent to President Jefferson a package which contained, among other articles, the skins of many of the animals that roamed about the prairies or forests of that aboriginal region; Indian bows, arrows, and robes; tobacco seed; live squirrels and magpies and stuffed antelopes.

Fort Mandan was deserted early in April, 1805, and the long march to the Pacific Ocean was resumed. The Party had by this time been reduced in number to thirty-two persons. It is quite probable that Sacajawea's papoose was counted in this roll, as he was certainly present with his mother. Soon the adventurers were skirting the fringe of the Mauvaises Terres, a land of fantastic and grotesque soil formations created by erosion. By the fourteenth of the month the expedition had reached a point beyond the furthest exploration previously recorded. Ten days later the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers was sighted. It was near here that the presence of the grizzly bear was first observed. Lewis was pursued by one of these ferocious and enormous beasts and was saved only by a third and finally successful shot of his rifle. Soon afterwards the first mountain sheep was killed. More interesting still, a canyon was discovered which contained formations that closely resembled colonnades, pulpits, organs with their pipes, fortresses, castles, and Gothic churches.

Whenever the main river split into two forks, it became necessary for Lewis to explore one of the streams, and Clark the other, in order to find out which of the two was the real Missouri. This first took place at the mouth of the Yellowstone, and next at the mouth of the modern Maria, which detained the expedition at this spot for nearly a week. The south branch was always found to be the main stream. Many articles of food were stored in a cache here for use on the return journey.

Lewis now marched ahead of the main body, accompanied by a few men. Two memorable events soon occurred as he advanced: the chain of the Rockies came into view; and the Great Falls were discovered. In the meanwhile, Clark, in the rear, was toiling up stream against a multitude of obstacles, such as rocks, shallows, and dangerous rapids. Whenever the men disembarked on island or river bank, they were faced by rattlesnakes. In the end it became necessary at certain places to drag the boats over the dry ground on wheels. Near the Great Falls a fountain was noticed

which is said to have covered a quarter of an acre in area. Here the portage had to be resumed, and this occupied nearly thirteen days. Innumerable buffalo were seen on the neighboring prairies, and many of their dead bodies were found floating in the river. Thousands of these beasts hourly pressed down the narrow and steep gorges to the water's edge to drink, and those in front were constantly pushed by their fellows behind into the stream and carried off. The presence of these herds assured an abundance of food. The bears also furnished a supply, but their number made them dangerous, as they did not shrink from attacking the hunters, even when the latter had guns in their hands. Strange explosions were heard in this remote region which were never fully explained.

Late in June Captain Lewis and his separate party, moving up the river in boats, arrived at the magnificent canyon known in our own day as the Gate of the Rocky Mountains. The now united explorers later reached the point where three great tributaries came together to form the single stream of the Missouri. The country here was haunted by innumerable animals and birds and adorned with an extraordinary variety of shrubs, trees, and flowers. It was not discovered at the time of the passage that every foot of sand in the shallow waters of the streams contained small particles of gold. The voyagers were really making their way through a land destined to become one of the most important mining scenes in the Western world. Had the members of the expedition obtained at the moment an inkling of this fact, would they have continued the march? In reality, the only objects in sight which appeared to them to have any value at all were the beavers and other animals bobbing up in the streams. It was in this country near the Three Forks that Sacajawea had been born and reared, and she was therefore able to act as an intelligent guide in pointing out the tributary to be followed in the further advance. The Jefferson River was chosen in spite of the obstructions which it offered to the travelers' progress. "We are obliged to drag the canoes over the stones," wrote Lewis, "as there is

not a sufficient depth of water to float them; and in the other parts, the current obliged us to have recourse to the cord. But as the brushwood on the banks will not permit us to walk on shore, we are under the necessity of wading through the river as we drag the boats. This soon makes our feet tender."

On August 12 Lewis and a small party reached the headwaters of the Jefferson. The river here had dwindled to a brook, which was so narrow in places that one of the men, planting a foot on each side of the stream, "thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri." From this spot they mounted to the top of the Continental Divide, and passing the line of declivity between East and West, they soon came upon a small river, which ultimately poured its waters into the Columbia. A party was sent out to procure horses from the Indians, as transportation by river was no longer immediately available.

The lofty gate by which the expedition crossed the main ridge of the Rockies did not present serious barriers in itself, but the country on the first western slopes was here and there blocked with high hills. It was found that the streams flowing in that direction were not navigable in their upper reaches, and the terrain was in places too rough for riding on horseback. Even the Lewis River, formed by the junction of two small tributaries, could not at first be used by canoe. It was necessary to follow the gorges of the streams as offering the only openings through the backbone of the heights. In this way the headwaters of the modern Clark River were reached. There was no trail of any kind on its banks, and a path had in many spots to be cut through the tangled brushwood to create a passage for man and horse.

After the first western spurs of these secondary ridges had been crossed, the members of the expedition came unexpectedly upon the beautiful natural park now known as the Bitter Root Valley. So soon as this charming scene had been left behind, a wild region again confronted the explorers, and in traversing its fastnesses, they were compelled to shoot one of their horses for use as food; nor did

they disdain to eat the wolves which they were able from time to time to kill. In September they entered the fertile plains of the Chopunnish, where the nourishing paschaco root grew in profusion. On the south side of the Kooskooskee River further on, a halt was made for the construction of canoes, as there was water enough in the stream to float them. So soon as these were finished, the horses were delivered to Indian caretakers to be held until the expedition should return on its journey homeward. A branding iron used to mark these horses is still in existence.

On October 7 an unbroken voyage by water to the mouth of the Columbia began. By the tenth, the junction of the modern Clearwater and Snake rivers—the Clark and Lewis, as they are also known—was reached. Clearwater was the English name borne by the Kooskooskee. Hitherto the members of the expedition in traversing this region had been subsisting on fish and roots, but in order to diversify their diet, they purchased a few dogs of one of the neighboring tribes, which brought them into contempt with the Indians at large. The explorers were astonished by the enormous swarms of salmon to be observed in the river which they were now navigating. "The water is so clear," said Lewis, "that their multitude can readily be seen at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet. The Indians assured us by signs that they often use dried fish as fuel for the common occasion of cooking."

In spite of rapids, the canoes were able to cover as many as forty miles a day. At the Great Falls they were compelled to make a portage of twelve hundred yards, but fortunately for the explorers in this work, the Indians about that region showed themselves ready to assist. The Columbia here passed through prodigious masses of lava, and in doing so had ground out a channel that in some places lies two thousand feet below the tops of the vast escarpments. The stream itself, narrowed in width by these walls, was a long succession of rapids, cataracts, and whirlpools. At the end of this caldron, known as the Dalles, the whole volume of the river, because of a huge boulder jutting

into it, leaps through a channel only forty-five yards wide.

Lewis ordered the canoes to be launched in a quiet cove situated above this spot, and in spite of the tumultuous waters of the gate below, they passed through in safety, to the undisguised astonishment of the Indians looking on from the rock above. The same experience was repeated on October 25 in the Long Narrows. Here the water boils over a space of three miles. Several of the boats in getting through were nearly lost in the tossing stream. The distance from the Great Falls to the end of the Narrows—the bed occupied by the cataract as a whole—stretched out to fifteen miles. Below the Narrows was to be found the Cascades, a reach of the river about three quarters of a mile in length. Here the stream passes over a vast mass of rocks which convert it into a series of whirlpools. It was necessary at this spot to turn to portage again as the only way of resuming the voyage.

On November 7 there was a cry among the members of the expedition that the ocean was in sight. Fog and rain coming up from the sea began to plague them from this hour steadily, especially whenever they halted on land overnight, where the sites of the camps were always exposed to the flow of high tides. They had no tents and, indeed, no shelter of any kind, except what their mats and blankets could furnish. The hunters, too, were prevented by the prevailing scarcity of game from bringing in either animals or birds for food. The winter was passed at Fort Clatsop not far from the Pacific. The explorers occupied their time in building a stockade about their quarters, pursuing the elk, and trading with the savages. It is recorded that on one occasion a large party visited the seacoast out of curiosity to see a whale that had been stranded by a storm. They found only a skeleton, as the carcass had been stripped of its flesh by the Indians; but they were able to buy the blubber, although at a very high price; and while it lasted, it made up an acceptable food when supplemented by the large quantity of vegetable roots which the explorers purchased from day to day in the neighboring villages.

On March 23, 1806, the explorers set out on their reverse journey across the continent. It is not necessary, in order to emphasize further the greatness of this expedition, to describe their passage homeward over what was in the main the same route as they had followed in their westward march. The road which they were traversing was now familiar to them in a general way, and the return journey, although a great achievement in itself, was not quite so great as the journey to the Pacific Ocean had been. By August the adventurers had arrived by water at the villages of the Mandan Indians, where they had spent their first winter. One month later, when they came in view of La Charette, cows were noticed feeding peacefully on the banks. It is said that the company to a man involuntarily raised a shout of joy at seeing this "image of civilization and domestic life." By twelve o'clock on September 23 the seasoned band of explorers had reached St. Louis.

Among the many remarkable features of this celebrated expedition was the harmony that throughout its course distinguished not only the association of the two commanders with each other, but also the association of their followers with these intrepid leaders. The ever present dangers throughout the adventure and the remoteness of the ground traversed doubtless tended to unite the members of the party into the closest bonds, regardless of their rank. But far stronger than these reasons for the existence of this fact were the courage, foresight, firmness, and discretion which Captain Lewis displayed at every stage of the journey. He neglected no precaution; he was discouraged by no physical obstacle; and he faced every peril with unshakable nerve. In character, in judgment, in experience, he was fully equipped to perform the task which had been assigned to him; and to him belongs the principal glory of that memorable march from the green valley of the Missouri, across the barren crest of the Rockies, to the misty shores of the Pacific. The highest eulogium that can be passed upon the coöperation of his faithful and gallant comrades—for such was the real relation of them all in that noble enter-

prise—is that they were worthy of their indomitable chief.

That the vast territory lying on the great northwestern slope, from the towering Divide of Montana to the level Pacific Ocean, is now a part of the United States is to be attributed in no small degree to the genius of Meriwether Lewis, since his success as the leader of the earliest expedition overland enormously strengthened the force of the claim which had been first established by Captain Gray's arrival in the waters of the Columbia. If Massachusetts pointed the way by sea, Virginia surpassed her rival in the ultimate results of her romantic journey across the Continent, for it was this journey that really laid the foundation for all those noble commonwealths of the Northwest and North Pacific slope which from year to year continue to pour their wealth of gold and grain into the lap of the world.

Chapter IV

PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON

THROUGHOUT LIFE a modest man, in spite of his extraordinary personal distinction, James Madison was, if tradition was correct, sprung from a redoubtable Indian fighter, Captain Isaac Maddyson, who had arrived in Virginia only sixteen years after the foundation of Jamestown. The record of the Madison family in general, like that of the Jefferson, was coeval with the earliest settlement of Virginia. Like the Jefferson, too, its celebrity was not increased by its social origin in England, for it had no history that went back beyond the arrival of the first English voyagers in the waters of the Powhatan. In other words, it was historically at least Virginian in its birth. Nor could it at first advance any claim to high social position in its new environment, for Isaac Maddyson, if really an ancestor of James (which is doubtful), was an artisan; and so was John Madison of Gloucester County, his undoubted forebear, who long pursued with success the useful calling of ship carpenter.

By the end of the first century and a decade, the descendants of John Madison had shown their native shrewdness by acquiring large areas of virgin land. It was in the course of this steady expansion of fortune that the famous tract known as Montpelier came into their possession, only in the end to fall to James Madison as his share of his father's extensive estate. On the maternal side the blood of the future President was as purely English as on the paternal side and, in spite of the existence of an Episcopal bishop in the Madison connection, was probably on that side a little higher

socially than the Madison stock, for his mother was a Conway, and his grandmother a Catlett, both of a strain without any claim to the robustness of artisan descent.

James Madison's grandfather had built with the hands of his own slaves a mansion of wood on the Montpelier plantation, which lay on the western slope of the Southwest Mountains in Orange County; and it was to this roof that he brought, over the bottomless roads of that region, his bride of seventeen from Port Conway, on the banks of the lower Rappahannock. At a later day this house became too small to hold the increasing family, and a new residence of brick was erected, which was destined to become a part of the imposing structure that sheltered the statesman at the hour of his death, as it had done during the preceding seventy-five years. Seven years before he breathed his last, his mother, Nelly Conway, then in her ninety-eighth year, had passed away in the same house, finding consolation for her physical infirmities in the eloquent sermons of the famous blind preacher, the Reverend James Waddel.

Had James Madison followed the example of the young men of the same social position as himself in Virginia, he would have matriculated at the College of William and Mary, with which his cousin, the Bishop, was to be associated as its president during so many eventful years. It was rare at this period that the rolls of Harvard and Yale contained the name of a young Virginian, and still rarer, the rolls of the College of New Jersey. Perhaps the influence of Donald Robertson, his Scotch tutor, explains the preference which Madison finally gave to Princeton. Possibly the blind preacher, James Waddel, shook the wavering balance in its favor. Possibly his detestation of the intolerance which fell so heavily on the Presbyterians and Baptists in his youth made him especially a partisan of the former sect, although his father was a vestryman of the surrounding parish. One of the explanations usually offered for his abnormal action was that his health was delicate and insecure, and therefore not likely to be invigorated by the bilious atmosphere of the Tidewater region.

He was sufficiently advanced to enter the sophomore class at Princeton. Here he displayed his taste for serious studies, not only by his academic industry, but also by founding the American Whig Society. At its meetings, held behind locked doors, essays were read and subjects for debate discussed. This was his earliest practice in dialectics, from which he was to shrink so modestly when he first entered public life, but in which he was to become the greatest master of his times.

After his graduation, Madison, who during his long career never ceased to be a student of more or less retiring manners, found that he had nothing in common with the young Virginians of his own age and social position. They were easy and happy in their dispositions; lovers of sports in the open air with horse, gun, and fishing rod; of racing and wrestling; of dancing and flirting; of feasting, drinking, and playing cards; and occasionally of duelling. The delicate bookworm of Montpelier looked around in vain for congenial companionship, unaware that on the top of a neighboring mountain there were to be found a mind and a spirit so closely in sympathy with his own that when the two men did come together they were to remain until the end of their lives as perfect in their friendship as Jonathan and David. If Thomas Jefferson was the master character, it was not by his imposing his own more robust individuality on the gentler personality. Independently, naturally, and spontaneously, the soul of Madison responded to his soul, without any trace of unconscious dictation or servility in their intellectual relations with each other.

What profession should the young student of Montpelier adopt? Should it be that of planter or lawyer or clergyman? Strangely enough, by the happening of an event totally unexpected—the first outburst of the Revolution—he endeavored at first to be a soldier, a calling curiously foreign to his love of meditative pursuits. But he lacked the physical strength to join the new army under Henry's command and was compelled to satisfy his military aspirations with performing the humbler duty of recruiting. From this, how-

ever, he soon turned to enter a sphere of activity in which before the end of many years he was to win the highest renown. Already a profound student of government, he found a congenial post for the gratification of his ambition in membership of the Virginia Convention of 1776.

It was this Convention which instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose to that body that the United Colonies should be declared "free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain." It was also this Convention which adopted George Mason's immortal document, the distilled essence of Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the Acts of the Long Parliament, and the Doctrines of the Revolution of 1688. It has been said of it that it contained all the general principles proclaimed less than a month later in Philadelphia by Congress in the more celebrated Declaration of Independence.

A third great enactment of this Convention was the plan for a state constitution, which in the main was the production of Mason also.

Madison, who was only twenty-five years of age at this time, was too distrustful of his powers as a debater in a public assembly to take a prominent part in the discussions. His voice was heard but once, when he offered an amendment to the Bill of Rights affirming that all men were entitled to the full and free exercise of religion according to the dictates of their consciences; and that, therefore, no man or class of men ought on account of it to be invested with peculiar emoluments or privileges, or to be subject to any penalties or disabilities. The significance of this amendment was that, should it be adopted, it would make state interference with religious affairs an impossibility. In submitting it, he anticipated the passage of Jefferson's famous bill for religious freedom, which became the law of the state only at the end of another ten years. At this time Madison's appearance was suggestive of a condition of confirmed ill health. Five feet and a half in height, his body was frail and emaciated, while his face was thin and

pale, but illuminated by a pair of eyes of unusual brilliancy. His hair, which was light in color, was brushed back and gathered into a cue behind his head, after the fashion of that age. His dress was as simple as that of a Quaker on the streets of Philadelphia; and he is said to have been taken by strangers for a dissenting minister, because of his sober garments and retiring manner.

Perhaps the greatest advantage which accrued to Madison from his membership in the Convention of 1776 was that it brought him for the first time into association with many distinguished contemporaries, such as John Blair, Edmund Randolph, George Wythe, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Richard Henry Lee, and others of the same high standing. But towering above them all in reputation were George Mason, Edmund Pendleton, and Patrick Henry. It was not long before Madison took in the public eye a position of equality with the greatest of these men, a position he never lost. In the meanwhile he was subject to at least one sharp disappointment. He became a candidate for a seat in the General Assembly of 1777 and was defeated.

But his failure was for a reason creditable to his sense of public duty—he had refused to offer the voters the customary treat of rum and punch on election day because he looked upon it as a form of bribery and corruption. His opponent, a shrewd politician devoid of such nice scruples, poured out his liquor in copious quantities and was easily chosen. In the meanwhile, Madison was sneered at as the parsimonious son of a wealthy father. He was consoled for his disappointment by his election by the General Assembly, later in the same year, to a seat in the Council of State, which served the purpose of an advisory cabinet for the governor. It was a position of high dignity, as its membership was drawn from the circle of the most prominent citizens in the commonwealth. It seems to have been of substantial aid to him, as he was able to address his associates without self-distrust, owing to the smallness of their number, and he thus gradually acquired the fluency and confidence afterwards

needed in speaking before a larger audience.

From the office of councilor, in which the principal questions for consideration at this time involved the disordered finances of Virginia, Madison in 1780 was advanced to a seat in the Continental Congress. Here also he found the main problem under discussion still to be the procurement of funds. Besides this, there was acute bickering going on between that body and the separate states on an extraordinary variety of subjects, chiefly in consequence, however, of the national legislature's decline in influence.

The discontent among the people at large, due principally to the absence of specie, combined with the depreciation of the paper issues, had reached the state of an administrative deadlock. Virginia was one of the few commonwealths in the confederation which honored the requisitions of Congress. In despair, that body now requested the states to pay their quotas in produce.

In January, 1783, Madison was appointed a member of a committee to devise some measure of relief; and so desperate was the situation that this committee reported that the only means open to use was to draw upon the documentary applications for loans in Europe, although the prospect of obtaining these loans was known to be extremely shadowy. Madison was in favor of coercing the states to contribute to the national government's support by assuming jurisdiction over their trade and property. But a more practicable scheme urged by him was to place an import tax on foreign merchandise. This, too, failed to receive the approval of the states, although Virginia at first commended it. He then advised that a general fund under the control of Congress should be annually raised. This was needed by that body, not only for the payment of its current expenses, but also for the liquidation of the national debt, without which the stability of the confederation could not be secured. In the end, an import duty was adopted. New York alone refused to favor such a duty, owing to the influence of Hamilton, who advocated the imposition of a direct tax.

Virginia asserted the right of possession to all territory

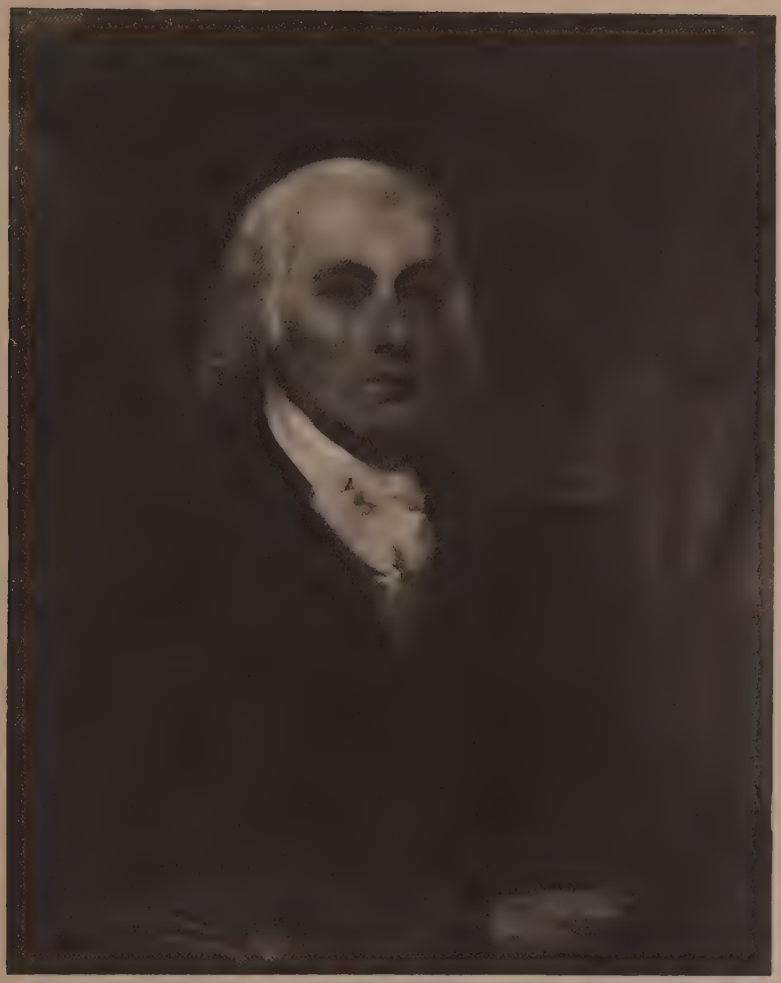

PLATE V. *From the copy by W. L. Sheppard in the Virginia State Library, from a copy by Sully from an original by Stuart. Used by courtesy of the Governor of Virginia. Photo Cook.*

PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON

that ran as far as the eastern bank of the Mississippi. The basis of this claim was the original royal charter and the conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark. It was, therefore, most important to her that the navigation of the river, now engrossed by the Spaniards, should be free, and in 1779 her General Assembly directed her delegates in Congress to submit a resolution to that effect. This body as a whole approved this resolution, and an effort was made to secure Spain's consent by a promise to assist her to recover the Floridas from Great Britain, with which country the Spaniards were now at war. Madison was authorized by the special committee in charge of the subject to draft instructions for the guidance of John Jay, the American minister at Madrid. This was the first important state paper which he was called upon to compose, and it entered fully and convincingly into all the phases of the American interest in the navigation of the great river. But the United States was still fighting the British, and the recent successes of the latter in the South rendered temporarily at least these arguments of Madison academic.

A cry arose in favor of abandoning all claim to the Mississippi, in return for a military alliance with Spain, which now appeared to be so necessary in order to curb the progress of British arms in South Carolina and Georgia. Madison's draft of instructions was, therefore, replaced by a resolution of Congress seeking a Spanish alliance; but when Jay requested that this resolution should be acted on promptly, the Spanish government declined to do so. So soon as the treaty of peace was made with Great Britain, the advantage of a Spanish military alliance came to an end. Disgruntled by the terms of this treaty as applicable to her Florida boundary, Spain refused to enter into an agreement of any kind that would give the United States the right of immediate navigation of the Mississippi. She proposed, even in case of a treaty of commerce, to close that river for twenty-five or thirty years. Madison was not then a member of Congress, but he exerted himself in private life to influence everyone in a position to affect the issue favorably.

When he resumed his seat in the House, a treaty of commerce with Spain was before that body which did not guarantee the Mississippi's use by American vessels. By dilatory methods a vote on this measure was staved off for eighteen months, and in the end the scheme of giving up, even for a time, all claim to the navigation of the river in return for commercial advantages was dropped, through the indefatigable opposition chiefly of Madison himself. His successful course in relation to this question was one of the greatest of all his public services.

He was elected a member of the Virginia General Assembly of 1784, which went so deeply into the discussion of religious freedom and the abolition of the established church. Henry offered a resolution which asserted that the people of the state should, "according to their respective means, pay a moderate tax for the support of the Christian religion, or of some Christian church, or form of Christian worship." This was adopted by a majority of fifteen votes in a total of seventy-nine. Madison refused to cast an affirmative ballot. He took the ground that the civil power had no legal or moral right to assume any part about religion, whether to recognize it or to maintain it. The question of religious belief and the upholding of religious worship were in his opinion matters to be left to the individual conscience and to the individual preference. "As the assessment," he said, "was to be for the support of the Christian religion, the courts would be eventually called upon to decide what was Christianity, whether it was Trinitarianism, Arianism, or Socinianism. The end would be the definition by the State of what was orthodoxy and what was heresy."

The bill was ultimately thrown out through the weight of a petition in opposition to it drafted by Madison. In its place he introduced the bill for establishing religious freedom drawn by Jefferson in 1779 as a part of his revised code of laws. It was passed December 26, 1785.

There had arisen some uncertainty as to whether Virginia had not jeopardized her reserved right of navigation of the Potomac by confirming the Lord Baltimore Charter of

1732, which defined the southern shore of that stream as the southern boundary of the Maryland province. At Madison's suggestion, commissioners were appointed by the two states to settle this debatable point. A compact was entered into by them on March 28, 1785, by which both states enjoyed the right of navigation and free trade in their respective waters.

The first result of the adoption of this compact by the legislature of Maryland was the acceptance by Pennsylvania and Delaware of an invitation to unite with Maryland and Virginia in selecting commissioners to agree upon uniform trade regulations for the four states. In naming her own commissioners, Maryland was careful to stipulate that the proposed conference should be empowered to discuss any question which might tend to foster the commerce and promote the mutual convenience of the states participating. Virginia, however, had anticipated this provision by extending an invitation to all the states in the confederation to unite in the conference. It was through Madison's influence that the resolution to that effect was adopted, but it was actually submitted by John Tyler, Sr., because Madison feared that if he himself should do so, his reputation of favoring the enlargement of the central power would arouse opposition among those who held a view different from his own. His object was to broaden the jurisdiction of Congress, and he was using the Mount Vernon conference to assure this end by making the meeting arranged to follow that conference applicable to all the States.[1]

The Convention assembled, as appointed, at Annapolis. Its only aim on the surface was to adopt commercial regulations. The attendance was extremely slim. Many of the states were not represented at all. Hamilton took advantage of this fact to recommend that the convention should restrict its transactions to an address calling for another convention of delegates from all the states, who were to be instructed to consider more important questions than mere commercial

[1] See for discussion of the incident Rives's *Life of Madison,* II, 119; Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers,* I, 130, 132.

relations. This suggestion was approved. To no one was it more satisfactory than to Madison, who was present. The wording of the address indicated unmistakably that the real purpose of the projected convention was the drafting of a constitution which would settle all the points in dispute between the states. As Madison himself expressed it: "Mankind had grown tired of keeping the ship of State afloat by standing constantly at the pump. Let the leaks which have endangered her be stopped."

In the Convention at Philadelphia, all the states were represented except Rhode Island, which at the moment was pursuing a course of general repudiation and inflation that reflected only dishonor on its reputation.

It has been said of Madison that he entered the convention with a theoretical knowledge of the science of government unequaled by any delegate belonging to that body. He had been a student of this science from his admission as an undergraduate to the classes at Princeton. His reading had extended over the whole field of that noble theme from the earliest to the latest times. The peculiar features of ancient and modern confederacies were equally familiar to him, and his trained mind had been able to discriminate with precision between their merits and their defects. Especially strong was his grasp upon the deficiencies of the Articles of Confederation, which were supposed to govern the United States. These deficiencies he pointed out in a dissertation directed in his most powerful style against that instrument. His conception of the provisions to be adopted was as clear as his conception of such as ought not to be adopted. This was shown by his letter of April 8, 1787, written to Governor Randolph, in which he summed up his conclusions in the memorable words, "The individual independence of the States was utterly irreconcilable with their aggregate sovereignty; but a consolidation of the whole into one simple republic would be as inexpedient as it was unattainable."

When the Convention opened, Madison took upon himself the task of reporting its proceedings, in order, as he said afterwards, "to preserve the history of a constitution on

which would be staked the happiness of a people, great even in its infancy, and possibly the cause of liberty throughout the world." The Convention promptly agreed to carry out the demand of the Annapolis Convention, when it issued the call for the second Convention, namely, that the latter should render the government "adequate to the exigencies of the Union." The first step towards this consummation was to wipe the Articles of Confederation out of existence and to substitute for them a formal constitution, to be ratified by the votes of the states.

The most remarkable characteristic of the Convention was that it was a body of federalists who were as anxious to protect the interests of property as the political rights of the people. These rights of the people were to be safeguarded by basing representation in the Lower House on population alone, which was to embrace all freemen and two-fifths of the slaves in the count. The debate began with the Virginia plan proposed by Randolph, and around it a keen discussion played. Madison was highly favorable to two requirements of the plan: (1) that the representation in both houses of Congress should be in proportion to the wealth and the number of inhabitants of the respective states; and (2) that the two chambers should have the right to veto the legislative acts of these states. He argued that there was no real antagonism between the interests of the small commonwealths and the interests of the large. The only repugnant interest existed between the free and the slave states. For this reason he suggested that the votes in one branch of Congress should be apportioned according to the number of free inhabitants, and in the other, according to the entire population, slave and free combined. This would divide the power between the North and the South—between plantation communities on the one hand, and commercial communities on the other.

Madison favored the bestowal of power on Congress to tax exports for protective benefits as well as for revenue. This would have placed exports on the footing of imports. He had no share in the extension of the African slave trade

for twenty years, although that compromise was thought to be the prerequisite of the Constitution's adoption by the convention. He advocated the election of the president by popular vote, and it was due to him that the jurisdiction of Congress in the District of Columbia is exclusive, and also to him that Congress alone has power to regulate intercourse with the Indians. He was the author of the provision that laid down the manner of carrying out amendments to the Constitution; and it was also because of his criticism that the province of the Supreme Court was limited to cases of a judicial nature arising under the Constitution. The Dred Scott decision was the first violation of this rule, as the federal statute—which in that case the Supreme Court pronounced unconstitutional—was not of such a character.

From an early date in the Convention's history Madison was recognized as the best equipped member of the body. "He blends," said a colleague, "the profound politician with the scholar. He is a most agreeable, eloquent, and convincing speaker. He always comes forward the best informed man of any point in debate." He proved himself to be more practical and more useful than his principal associates, Mason and Randolph. Unlike them, he was prepared from the start to sacrifice some of his wishes and convictions if thereby a government could be framed that would hold the Union together and protect it from foreign attack. Opposition to the Constitution arose soon after the adjournment of the Convention; and it was to combat this antagonism that Madison coöperated with Jay and Hamilton in the composition of the series of political essays known as the *Federalist*. These papers were written separately, and the authorship of about one-third is attributable to Madison's pen.

But a still more brilliant part in support of the Constitution was played by him in the famous Virginia Convention of 1788. John Marshall was his principal ally, as Henry was his most powerful opponent; but there were other men of conspicuous ability on either side—among others, Pendleton, Mason, Henry, Lee, Monroe, Grayson,

Harrison, and Randolph. No one present, however, was so competent to discuss the subject under consideration as Madison. He had been the most influential person in the drafting of the great document; he was already versed in all the arguments that could be employed for or against its ratification; and his reputation assured him an attentive audience, whatever his theme.

At first there was a very general debate, but afterwards the Constitution was considered article by article. In the course of four days Madison occupied the floor forty-five times. From the start Henry vehemently asserted that the ratification of the instrument meant in the end the destruction of the states by the consolidation of the Union. Madison pitted himself at once against the renowned orator, although he was entirely lacking in those graces of declamation which had given his rival so much distinction. His voice was thin and not audible in all parts of the hall; his language was plain and without any pretension to eloquence. "But," said John Marshall, "if convincing is eloquence, he was the most eloquent man I ever heard." The sum total of his argument was that the Constitution was only partly federal and only partly confederate. The evils of either character by itself were avoided by the combination of both characters in the same document. As the people as a whole, he said, were represented in the House, and the states separately in the Senate, it would be impossible for the national government to swallow up the state governments, or the state governments to swallow up the national.

Henry endeavored to win the support of the members from Kentucky by warning them that the adoption of the Constitution would be followed by the permanent closure of the Mississippi's waters to all citizens of the United States. Had this threat been effective, the vote of that delegation would have turned the scales against ratification; but Madison assured the Convention, from his personal knowledge of the sentiment in Senate and House alike, that the project of barring the river would never be revived.

After the Convention's adjournment, Madison was re-

elected to his old seat in Congress. Through Henry's influence, however, he was later defeated for a seat in the upper chamber. In the controversy which arose over Hamilton's financial measures, Madison advocated the payment to the present holders the full market value of the certificates of the domestic debt; and to the original holders, the balance between that value and the face value of the certificates. The question involved in the assumption of the state debts was more difficult to settle equitably. Madison took still firmer ground against this feature of Hamilton's plan; but the measure finally passed, under the influence of an agreement which gave the site of the proposed national capital to the South. Madison had no part in suggesting or concluding this bargain, but he did not use his great powers as a debater to prevent the adoption of the scheme. This was because he was convinced that the capital's removal was highly beneficial to the public welfare in general. This seems to have been at the time the trend of popular sentiment, which in consequence regarded the bargain with leniency.

Madison exhibited all his customary energy when in 1791 he opposed the passage in the House of Hamilton's bill providing for the establishment of a national bank. His principal reason for antagonizing this institution was that the Constitution did not warrant its creation. If Congress was really able to authorize it, with equal plausibility that body could authorize the establishment of any corporation. There was no limit to the powers of Congress under the doctrine of implied powers now invoked for the first time. Washington doubted his right to sign the bill, and Madison went so far as to prepare a veto for his acceptance, but Hamilton successfully interfered.

Madison supported a bill for the encouragement of the cod fisheries, after an unimportant modification of its language had been adopted. This was tantamount to his taking ground in favor of Hamilton's general policy of a protective tariff.

The vigorous opposition which Madison had shown to the Federalist measures associated with Hamilton's name had

strengthened his position in Virginia, where it had been weakened by the favorable attitude towards a strong government displayed in the conflict over the framing and the ratification of the Constitution. Apparently he had now become an enemy of consolidation and was both as keenly anti-Federalist as Jefferson himself and as firm a friend of France in the commotion aroused by Genêt's foolish conduct. He advocated a policy of commercial retaliation against Great Britain as a punishment for her contemptuous treatment of the United States previous to the negotiation of Jay's Treaty. To the ratification of this treaty, when submitted to Congress, he was resolutely hostile.

During John Adams' administration the Federalists were in complete control, and they took advantage of this fact to pass the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts, which were designed to put an end to the activities of foreign residents in American politics and to check the attacks by the opposition press on the president and his partisan advisers. Both Acts laid down penalties so severe as justly to create the conviction among all disinterested persons that the Federalists were dangerously perverting the powers of the national government. With Jefferson's approval Madison called a conference of influential Virginians, who decided to obtain from the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia resolutions condemning not only the Alien and Sedition Acts, but also all the general principles of the Federalist party. More than this, they wished to secure from these legislatures a public statement that they looked upon the two Acts as null and void and that they expected civil war to follow, should the Federalists' radical policy continue. Madison drafted the Virginia Resolutions, which were promptly adopted. In defense of them he wrote his still more famous explanatory report, in which he affirmed that the Constitution was a compact between the states and that the states were "the rightful judges in the last resort as to whether the bargain made had been pursued or violated." But the breach of the Constitution must be deliberate and dangerous by universal acknowledgment before action could be legitimately taken to

arrest usurpation.

The first time that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were invoked was by the Hartford Convention in 1814; and the second, by the nullifiers of South Carolina; but in both cases Madison denied the pertinency of the application. He did not fully approve of the expression of the Kentucky Resolutions, which were more extreme in tenor than the Virginia. It was on these latter that nullification chiefly relied for vindication, and from which it took its name.

In the spring of 1801 Madison entered the cabinet of President Jefferson. The relations of the United States with Great Britain, France, and Spain were at this time far from satisfactory. Great Britain was charged with spoliations of American trade and the imprisonment of American seamen. The Jay Treaty had significantly omitted all reference to the latter outrage, which continued as openly as ever, but for which some justification could be advanced in the actual number of British deserters serving in American ships. France's action was almost as ruthless in excluding American oil and placing a heavy duty on the importation of American tobacco. The free navigation of the Mississippi was still the bone of contention with Spain.

In 1800 a formal agreement was signed by Spain and France, by which Louisiana was ceded to the latter power. This transaction was in the beginning kept under cover. When the treaty that followed the agreement became known to the world, Madison at once foresaw that the Mississippi, in the possession of the French, would never be opened to American shipping. The ministers of the United States at Paris and Madrid were instructed to submit a remonstrance; and it was also quietly suggested to them that they should intimate their authority to purchase the territory. So much aroused was public sentiment in America by the action of Spain that there was a demand for an alliance with Great Britain to prevent the actual cession to France. The right of deposit at New Orleans enjoyed by the American people was soon withdrawn by the Spanish Government at the instigation of the French; and a declaration of war by the Amer-

ican Government or an attack on that city by western volunteers seemed inevitable.

In the meanwhile, to allay western irritation, Monroe was appointed minister extraordinary to France and Spain. Livingston's zeal for the preservation of American rights in the river was strongly suspected. The object of the additional mission was to obtain the cession, not only of New Orleans, but also of all west and east Florida; and if negotiations for these purposes should fail, an alliance with Great Britain was to be concluded. In the interval, Livingston had really exerted himself energetically to discourage the French from taking military possession of New Orleans and the Floridas. In April Talleyrand asked him to name the price that the United States would be willing to pay for the whole of Louisiana. By the next day war had practically begun between France and Great Britain, and at this critical moment Monroe arrived. We have already related in our biography of Jefferson what followed this event, namely, a bargain to sell and purchase the vast territory on the western banks of the Mississippi, which would almost double the territory of the United States. The struggle for the possession of the river had started under Madison's congressional leadership in 1782, and it now ended under his leadership as secretary of state.

In March, 1809, he was inaugurated as the fourth President of the young Republic. The first cause of friction that had to be faced by his administration arose from the British orders in council, which placed the western coast of Europe, from the mouth of the Elbe to a point as far south as Brest, in a state of blockade, and which also interdicted all trading by neutrals between ports that belonged to nations at war with England. Napoleon retaliated by declaring that the British Islands were closed to all foreign intercourse, and he warned the vessels passing to or from a British harbor that they would be confiscated if captured by French cruisers.

The administration and Erskine, the British minister at Washington, had by this time reached an understanding

that the orders in council would be repealed, provided that the commercial embargo against Great Britain, which was still in force, should be raised. The embargo was recalled, but before the end of three months the British Government sent word that Erskine had acted without authority in going so far. In his place Francis Jackson was appointed. Jackson bore a detestable reputation, with which his instructions were altogether in harmony. The principal one informed the American Government that the orders in council were to be continued, unless the United States should consent to the interruption of all commercial dealings with France. This was refused, and the Non-Intercourse Act—which had been repealed under the terms of the Erskine agreement—was promptly restored by proclamation. Jackson was forced to confess that he had no additional proposals to submit to the American Government. Further diplomatic relations with him practically ceased. In the meanwhile, Napoleon issued instructions for the confiscation of all American ships anchored in ports under French control; one hundred and thirty-four were seized; and American seamen were also imprisoned by the same command. The United States was now in the position of the proverbial object crushed between the upper and the nether millstone.

It was not long before the impasse between the United States and Great Britain led to an overt act of hostility. The *President*, an American ship, and the *Little Belt*, a British ship, exchanged shots. This event could have only one result—a declaration of war or a better understanding. There was a strong feeling in the United States—especially among the younger statesmen—in favor of war, and there was an impression in the country at large that unless Madison could respond affirmatively to this sentiment, he would not be able to obtain the nomination for a second term. His position, however, was such that he had no other alternative. Every other means, commercial or diplomatic, of bringing Great Britain to the recognition of American rights had failed, after a patient and protracted trial.

In June, 1812, he issued his war message, in which he gave

a summary of the American grievances against England. Hostilities soon followed, and they were prolonged until 1815. The war was virtually a second war for national independence, and while the manner of its prosecution is not thought to have reflected much honor on American arms, apart from the Battle of New Orleans and certain fights at sea, its political results were second in beneficence only to those brought about by the Revolutionary struggle.

The President's personal reputation, however, was not increased by his share in the conflict. It was soon seen that, like Mr. Jefferson, he was as an administrator greatest in times of peace; and this fact was equally true of his principal advisers. In a period of violence he was not fully competent to reconcile a difference of parties and concentrate the nation's united energies upon a single purpose. But it should not be forgotten that in the Federalists of New England he had in his own country something more than mere partisans to contend with. Many of them were actively disloyal to the Republic, and the spirit of their Convention at Hartford was distinctly seditious. "The conduct of the Eastern (New England) States," said Madison at the time, "is the source of our greatest difficulties in carrying on the war, as it certainly is the greatest, if not the sole, inducement to the enemy to persist in it." News of the Battle of New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent alone suppressed this movement for disunion.

Madison's last political service was membership in the Virginia Convention of 1829-30. He was then seventy-eight years of age. He survived both of his great contemporaries and co-workers, Jefferson and Monroe; but he was outlived by the charming wife who had adorned his career with all the graces of a woman of fashion and with all the sweetness of a woman of the domestic hearth.

Chapter V

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL

John Marshall was born in the shadow of one of the most appalling military catastrophes that have ever taken place on the American continent. He was not yet three weeks old when the terrifying rumor swept over the wild ranges of the Alleghenies that the Monongahela's waters had been dyed red with the blood of Braddock's stalwart grenadiers, who had been expected so confidently to block any further eastward incursion of the French and Indians. The spot where he came into the world was not far from the lonely furnaces on the upper Rappahannock which Spotswood, the Tubal-Cain of Virginia, had built for the manufacture of raw iron. It was situated even closer to the frontier than Shadwell, the birthplace of his kinsman and future antagonist, Thomas Jefferson. The dwelling house in which he first opened his eyes was certainly superior in aspect to the shack in which Lincoln caught his earliest breath, but it was at best simply the modest log house of the average pioneer.

John Marshall bore another resemblance to Jefferson. This was in the way of his parentage. Peter Jefferson could lay claim to no prestige of descent on the paternal side, but on the maternal he harked back to a speaker of the House of Burgesses. Thomas Marshall was the son of a carpenter, apparently without the smallest pretension to gentle blood even in the phantasmagoria of tradition, but both Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall were sprung, each on his mother's side, from a common ancestor who was remarkable as

the progenitor, near or remote, of the greatest number of aristocrats of the same lineage recorded in our country's history. For both went straight back to William Randolph, of Turkey Island in the valley of the James.

The physical environment of the two men in their youth was the same. The country around them was only sparsely peopled, and always towering before their eyes rose the wall of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Towards every point of the compass there was a sea of primeval forests shut in by the indented rim of the open sky.

In 1765 the Marshall family deserted their first place of settlement, and after a journey in a large farm wagon, which carried all their domestic goods, they took possession of another and more substantial house. This was built of frame instead of logs, with deeper fireplaces and more spacious rooms. The principal windows looked out upon the slopes of the Blue Ridge. The nearest towns were Warrenton and Winchester. Here John Marshall's only companions at first were the numerous and lively brood of his brothers and sisters, and his most constant and enjoyable source of amusement was his rifle. His clothes were homespun, and his education at the start was of the same plain character, for his only teacher of importance then was the clergyman of the parish, whose lessons were soon interrupted by other duties. But far off as appeared every means of mental culture, a closet in the house contained a small collection of English classics, which the boy was not long in taking up and mastering.

In 1773 the family again tore itself up by the roots and reëstablished its hearth under a roof which was more in harmony with the improved fortune and rising reputation of Thomas Marshall, now a burgess for Fauquier County. This house was purchased by him, and in time the spot became famous from its association with the youth of the celebrated chief justice. Here young John soon grew interested in the study of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, for, as he himself has told us, he was destined for the bar from his boyhood. This occupation of his hours was diversified at intervals by les-

sons from his father in military exercises. Subsequently, he spent a few months at a school in Westmoreland County which had a nephew of the poet Campbell for its headmaster. There he enjoyed his first real chance of acquiring at least a smattering of classical learning; and this was supplemented some years afterwards by tuition under an equally competent teacher.

In 1775 he was not far from his majority. His father was a member of the Convention of that year which met in St. John's Church, and he soon imparted to his receptive son all the keen enthusiasm which fired his own breast in supporting the cause of the colonies in their resistance to the Crown. This enthusiasm had been blown to white heat by Henry's immortal battle cry of "Give me liberty or give me death." On his return home from the Convention, he was chosen major of the regiment of minute men recruited from the militia of his own thoroughly aroused district. His son John at the same time was elected lieutenant, and he was soon engaged in drilling the youth of his company and by eloquent addresses filling them with patriotic ardor. They belonged to the famous body of Culpeper Minute Men, who had adopted a uniform of brown linen, with bucktails in their hats and a leather belt over their shoulders which bristled with tomahawk and scalping knife. The words "Liberty or Death," were worked into the breast of each hunting shirt in large white letters.

The first summons to the field took Lieutenant Marshall and his company to Williamsburg, and he and his father participated as officers in the victory of Great Bridge. A short time afterwards, the two—who might easily have retired permanently to the comfort and safety of their home in Piedmont—obtained commissions in the Continental military service, and both continued in that service during the hottest campaigns of the war. The younger Marshall in December, 1776, was advanced to the rank of lieutenant captain. As such, he led his men in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, where he was stationed in the most dangerous posts; and subsequently, he was present at White

Marsh, where Washington offered so successful a front to a formidable force of British troops brought forward to assault his position.

The winter of 1777 was passed at Valley Forge, the Gethsemane of the Continental army. While the British officers and soldiers were reveling in the plenty of Philadelphia and keenly enjoying its varied amusements, the Americans of all ranks in their frail huts on the hills, not many miles away, were suffering all the agonies of cold, starvation, and despondency. For want of blankets, hundreds of the men had to sit up by the fires in the snow to keep from freezing, and in December the last ration had been given out and devoured. Death from exposure and shortness of food was rapidly reducing the size of the forces still under arms. Even Washington was afraid that the troops would be compelled to disperse. Only five thousand of the men who remained in camp were physically capable of responding to the roll call.

In spite of the appalling conditions which surrounded him and his comrades, John Marshall never yielded to discouragement, but carried hope to all about him by the optimism which he continued to display in his words and bearing. "If he had only bread to eat," records a fellow-officer, "it was just as well; if only meat, it made no difference. If any of the officers murmured at their deprivations, he would shame them by good-natured raillery, or encourage them by his own exuberance of spirits." He was the arbiter of all the disputes arising in his camp, and his decision in each instance was accepted as final. His veneration for the great Washington only grew the more as he saw the idol surrounded by heartbreaking perplexities borne with unwavering fortitude; and keen would have been his indignation had he at the time known of the conspiracy which was aiming to strike the commander in chief down, in the midst of his martyrdom for his country. The surrender of Burgoyne and the treaty of alliance with France brought relief to the cantonments of Valley Forge. There confidence once more took the place of despair.

In the Sahara-like heat of Monmouth, Marshall was pres-

ent with the advance guard of the American army under the orders of Anthony Wayne; and that night he slept upon the bare ground, prepared next morning to resume, at the head of his company, the attack on the British, who, however, stole away unobserved from the scene before dawn. A corps of picked troops was afterwards sent forward to capture Stony Point on the Hudson, which blocked the American communication between the two shores; and Marshall, now a full captain in rank, took part in the successful assault that soon followed. As he was at this time assigned to every movement requiring peculiar intrepidity in the soldiers, he was next found with Major Henry Lee's flying detachment, which was engaged in watching at close quarters the enemy's main force; and it was while so employed that he took part in the capture of Paulus Hook, a fortified post situated opposite the city of New York, held by the British.

The term of his enlistment in the army had now expired, and although he earnestly sought readmission to his old rank in active service, it was not until Arnold's invasion of Virginia that he had an opportunity to repeat his gallant conduct in actual warfare. It was during a visit to his father, then with his command at Yorktown, that he first met his future wife, Mary Ambler, to whom he was to show a romantic devotion throughout the rest of his life. She was the daughter of Jefferson's flame, Belinda, who preferred Jacquelin Ambler to the freckle-faced, sandy-haired student from the valley of the Rivanna. A brother of Jacquelin had married Mary Cary, who, if the tradition of Virginian society in those times was really true (which now seems doubtful), had caused the susceptible breast of the youthful Washington to sigh like a furnace in vain.

Perhaps Mary Ambler's presence not far away had influenced Marshall to return to attend the lectures of George Wythe, the most famous teacher of law at that day. But he sat under the older man only during an interval of six weeks, and while for this purpose staying in the ancient capital, he was chosen a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the mother chapter of which had been established at William

PLATE VI. *From the portrait by Inman in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. Used by courtesy of the Governor of Virginia. Photo Cook.*

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL

and Mary. Jacquelin Ambler was soon afterwards elected treasurer of the state, and his family in consequence removed their home to Richmond. This was the signal for Marshall to cut his legal training short and obtain a license to practise law at once. The document bore Jefferson's signature as governor. During his first year at the bar he received hardly a fee, and he relieved the tedium of waiting by offering himself as a candidate for the House of Delegates from Fauquier County. He had not been performing his duties as a member of that body two months before he married Mary Ambler. His gallant father's wedding gift was one Negro and three horses.

The young husband decided to settle permanently in Richmond, and he rented for his bride and himself a dwelling house of one story, with only two rooms. The bar which he now joined was one of the most brilliant in the United States, and it was hardly to be expected that the youthful lawyer with such keen rivalry as this would make rapid progress at first; but by his third year he had won a high position among his professional fellows, and his practice, in spite of the small fees of that day, now afforded him and his little family an easy and comfortable support. By 1786, according to Albert Gallatin, who happened then to be visiting the town, "he was almost at the head of the local bar." He was now thirty years of age, and his eminence in his calling was shown by his receiving a retainer to appear in the celebrated case of *Hite* v. *Fairfax*, which involved the validity of the Fairfax title to the whole of the Northern Neck. In his argument he displayed all the learning and logical power which were destined to make him so famous as a judge.

During a short time Marshall was a member of the Executive Council, an unusual honor for one so young, since at this time he was only twenty-seven years of age. None but men of long political experience were supposed to be eligible to the office, although Madison, like Marshall, had also held it before he could boast of such experience.

It was during his second membership in the House of Delegates that the question of the debts due British merchants

by Virginian planters came up for determination. Should the laws in the statute book, refusing payment until England should comply with the terms of the treaty of peace in every particular, be repealed, or should they be retained as they stood? Marshall voted in favor of the resolution calling for the early settlement of these obligations. This was one of the first indications in his public life of that belief in the sacredness of a contract which was afterwards to be expressed so emphatically in his decisions as chief justice. The second question of importance was: what should be the legal status of the Episcopal denomination, now that it was no longer an established church? Marshall supported without hesitation the bill which had been introduced to incorporate the church; but he failed to vote at all when a second bill requiring the sale of its glebe lands came before the House.

When we recall his subsequent career, his action on the general subject of the Confederation's debts, which was discussed at this time in the Assembly, seems still more significant. Congress took the position that the states should contribute to the liquidation of loans due by them to foreign powers, not on the basis of the value of each state's lands, but on the basis of the size of each state's population. The Assembly agreed to this principle, with Marshall's warm approval; but that body neutralized its action by making its consent dependent upon the assent of all the states.

The preponderance of Marshall's national feeling, which had first been fostered by his service in the Continental army, now revealed itself in all his votes relating to the extent of the national power; and it was a desire to increase this power which led him to canvass for a seat in the General Assembly of 1787. He saw with characteristic clarity of vision that what was wanted most at this time and would be still in the future was a more efficient and therefore a more highly organized general government. It was this Assembly which passed on the question of summoning a state convention to ratify the Constitution, so recently framed and adopted at Philadelphia. Marshall submitted the resolution which authorized the convention to be called and which also

directed that the text of that document should be freely discussed by this body. When the hour for the election of its members drew near, he appeared before the citizens of Henrico County and advocated the erection of a competent national government, the first step towards which, he said, was the ratification of the new Constitution. As the sentiment of the district was lukewarm on both subjects, he was indebted for his election to his personal popularity.

We have already in previous biographies referred to the proceedings of this great Convention. Marshall's course throughout them was that of a man who was anxious to establish a national government possessing ample ability to assure its own preservation from domestic and foreign enemies and also to perform its legitimate functions in every province granted to it by the Constitution. That instrument, he said, would foster domestic democracy; it would nourish domestic liberty. Without it the foreign rights of the whole country, as, for instance, in the navigation of the Mississippi, could not be enforced. Only a strong central government could make treaties that would be respected by alien countries. Congress must possess more ample powers. Without such powers, how could that body maintain efficient administration, such as was necessary for the welfare of all? The War of the Revolution had been so drawn out simply because Congress had been too weak to carry out the purposes for which it was established. Should the Constitution prove defective in any respect in actual operation, this could be remedied by amendments.

It was in the debate on the judiciary that Marshall's nationalistic views were expressed most vigorously. This debate was especially searching and acrimonious, since it was expected that the federal courts would enforce the national law as the controlling law of the land. Mason went so far as to voice the fear that these courts would in the end break down the states by the creation of an irresistible consolidated central authority. "The purse is gone, the sword is gone," exclaimed Henry, "and now the scales of justice are to be given away!" The principal reply to these forebodings

of Mason and Henry was the exhaustive speech delivered by Marshall. He took up their arguments *seriatim* and presented his side of the question with keen logic, extraordinary lucidity, great breadth of vision, and perfect temper. Time was to demonstrate that the words of this speech were to be the most memorable of all those spoken in the Convention; and the fact that they were full of force even at the moment of their utterance was proved by the persistent attacks which were made on their pertinency by all those debaters of the body who were hostile to the ratification of the Constitution.

It was Marshall's intention to withdraw from public life so soon as the Convention adjourned, but so great was his constituents' confidence in his ability and fidelity that he was reëlected to the General Assembly, in spite of the lack of sympathy among the majority of the voters of his district with those partisans of the Constitution who looked to him as their most conspicuous leader.

There was in the membership of the new Assembly an influential set who were keenly inimical to Washington's administration, on the ground that its policies tended to concentrate power in the national government. With these men Marshall did not hesitate to lock horns in the President's defense, but he was so unsuccessful in the long run that he finally decided to take up again the exclusive practice of his profession. He retained his domicile in Richmond; and so assiduously did he employ his power of application in the preparation of his cases that he soon found his reputation as a lawyer rapidly rising, and with it, his income. His principal business was in the Court of Appeals, which convened annually in Richmond. The lawyers who had made the original arguments in the county courthouses were too far off in those days of bottomless roads to follow conveniently causes sent up to this highest tribunal, and they were led by this fact to employ counsel there to take charge in their place when the docket was read. To Marshall soon fell the largest share of these transferred cases.

It was not possible for him, however, to give up all participation whatever in public affairs. At a meeting held in

Richmond in approval of Washington's general policy of neutrality between France and Great Britain, now plunged in war with each other, he drafted, submitted, and supported in a powerful speech the resolutions offered on that occasion, by which act he brought down on his head the acute hostility of all those persons who sympathized with the French. But he was so little awed by this attitude that he even urged the acceptance of Jay's Treaty by the Senate, although it seemed to many Americans more favorable to Great Britain's interests than to those of the United States. The treaty had been criticized as repugnant to the terms of the Constitution, because, it was asserted, it had been negotiated by the President without his having the power to regulate the commerce of the country. Marshall addressed himself to this point in the controversy so effectively that the charge was not repeated.

Shortly afterwards, at the warm solicitation of his friends, he permitted himself to become again a candidate for a seat in the General Assembly, where it was thought by the administration's supporters that his services in its defense would have a powerful influence in modifying the rabid feeling of hostility towards it, which at this time, strange as it may seem, was so general in Virginia.

Marshall's Federalist sympathies were now so widely known that it was to be anticipated that he would be singled out by the new Federalist President, John Adams, for a high post in the gift of the administration. In 1791 he was nominated as one of three envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to France, in the hope of smoothing away the causes of friction which had arisen to mar the friendship between the two countries. The principal cause was the resentment of the French when informed that the Jay Treaty had been adopted, for this seemed to them a surrender to British dictation at the very moment when they were expecting the United States to array itself openly on their side. The French Government went so far in 1799 as to order French cruisers to seize British property and citizens found in American vessels. France justified this extreme ac-

tion by declaring that the Treaty of 1776 had been abrogated by Jay's Treaty. The American minister was ordered to leave Paris, and practically a state of war was created between the two countries.

In retaliation for these offensive acts, steps were promptly taken by the American President to place the United States on a belligerent footing; Washington was appointed commander in chief; and the Navy was instructed to capture every French ship that assumed a hostile attitude towards American vessels. At the same time the administration left the door open for reconciliation, and in harmony with this policy, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry were dispatched to Paris. There serious obstacles were at once thrown in their way by the French Government. It was intimated to them directly, for instance, that unless a loan was made to France, they would not be received at all. A tribute of £50,000 was also required to be paid to the Directory, and certain parts of President Adams' address to Congress must be disavowed. The envoys declared that they were only empowered to negotiate a treaty, and therefore they had no authority to promise a loan, large or small. They positively refused to make or countenance a private advance, as they knew that the suggestion was in the nature of a bribe.

So far Talleyrand had remained in the background. The spokesmen as yet were simply his creatures. Subsequently, Mr. Gerry, one of the envoys, had an interview with him, on which occasion the demand for a loan to the French Government was repeated as the prerequisite of any negotiations; and this money must be raised at once on the credit of the envoys combined, without waiting to obtain permission for that act from the American Government. A second overture for a private bribe was again indignantly rejected so soon as it was hinted by the lips of that corrupt statesman. A formal letter was next addressed to him by the three Americans, in which they described the object of their mission clearly and frankly, and they concluded with the warning that if the negotiations for a treaty were further delayed, they would return at once to the United States. The

French Government's reply made a sharp difference between Marshall and Pinckney, on the one hand, and Gerry on the other, as Gerry had not shown so much stiffness as his two colleagues in resenting the proposal of a loan.

In the end, after being treated with contemptuous indignities, Marshall and Pinckney received their passports, while Gerry was permitted to remain in Paris. Marshall arrived in Philadelphia first, and bells were rung in his honor until late in the night, and a public dinner was given to him.

In 1798 a seat in the Supreme Court became vacant, and Adams, without delay, offered it to Marshall, who was again engaged in the practice of his profession. He had previously refused to accept Washington's urgent invitation to him to become attorney-general of the United States; and he was now equally unyielding to Adams. But he permitted his name to be used as a candidate for Congress, although aware that he would be roundly aspersed as a Federalist tool, selected specially to advocate further consolidation. He had not only Washington's ardent backing in his canvass, but also the outspoken support of Patrick Henry. His first duty after taking his seat was to announce the death of Washington, and it was he who, in the absence of General Henry Lee, their author, submitted the famous resolutions in which the Father of his Country was proclaimed as "first in war; first in peace; and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Marshall quickly took the lead in all discussions in the House on the subject of international and constitutional law, and his opinion carried remarkable weight even with the Republican members. This was conspicuously illustrated in the case of Jonathan Robbins. Robbins had been arrested as a murderer, on the charge of the British consul in Charleston that the prisoner was an Englishman who had served in the British navy, while the prisoner claimed that he was an American who had been impressed by a British ship. When the federal court, after examining the evidence, delivered him up to the British consul, sharp indignation was expressed by the Republicans in Congress, on the score of the

unjustifiable character of the act. Marshall strained all his powers to combat this attitude on their part. The effect of his address on their minds may be inferred from the tenor of an anecdote told at the time. Albert Gallatin, a member of the House, was assigned to answer it, and he began, as soon as Marshall opened, to take notes of what was said. But when the speaker had got fully under way, Gallatin was seen to lay down his pencil.

"Do you intend to reply?" he was asked by one who had observed his action with surprise.

"I do not," responded Gallatin.

"Why not?" he was again asked.

"Because I cannot," was the frank confession. "There is absolutely no reply to make, for his speech is unanswerable."

But an even more remarkable proof of the clearness and dispassion of his judgment was revealed in his attitude toward the Alien and Sedition Acts, the passage of which had, in spite of his Federalist political sympathies, excited his disapproval. He was not at that time a member of Congress; but during the later session when he was a member, a resolution was brought forward by one of his colleagues to alter that section of the Sedition Law which defined the precise conduct that would justify arrest and imprisonment. Marshall alone of his party associates voted for its repeal; but this independence did not weaken his standing with the President, for in May, 1800, he was nominated to the office of secretary of state, which he accepted. He had been first invited to fill the vacancy in the war office, but he had felt constrained to refuse this honor, because it was difficult at this time to hold the scales evenly between Great Britain and France, owing to the jealous and often aggressive attitude assumed by either, if superior consideration appeared to be shown to one or the other by the United States.

During his brief tenure of the secretaryship Marshall acted with such moderation, yet with such firmness, that the country was kept out of all entanglements with foreign Powers and was the object of good feeling alone.

In January, 1801, his career as secretary of state was

brought to an end by his nomination to the chief-justiceship; and on the fourth of the ensuing February he mounted to the seat which he was to fill with more extraordinary distinction than any one who, either before or since, has occupied a judicial office in American history. If John Adams possessed no other claim upon his countrymen's gratitude—and as a patriot, there was no one who surpassed him in ardor, however superior to him in judgment—his appointment of John Marshall to the chief-justiceship would by itself have raised the irascible but sturdy President to a high platform in the esteem of posterity.

It was a task of a most difficult character which the new judge was called on to perform. The government was new; the Constitution also was new. It was the business of the Chief Justice, as the spokesman of the Court, to construe this instrument without the aid of either common law or established precedents. How was he to do this successfully? Should he follow the wishes of the majority of the people and interpret it in such a way that the states would either remain in the loose bonds of the old Confederation or ultimately separate into little nationalities, independent of each other, but disposed on the smallest provocation or through jealousy alone to leap at each other's throats? Or, on the other hand, should he interpret the Constitution in such a way as to substitute for the existing weak cement, now holding those different stones of the Union, the states, so fragilely together, bands of iron which all the combined social, economic, and political developments of the future would only tend to harden and to strengthen?

Powerful influences on Marshall's mind led him to follow the latter course. In the first place, it was natural that he should wish to confirm the inherent dignity of his court by increasing its importance as an integral part of the national government. Should he allow it to continue in its then existing groove, in which it possessed no more practical effectiveness in the general operations of that government than a subordinate wheel has in the revolutions of a complicated piece of machinery? Its power would have declined, not

grown, had he shared the views of Mason, Jefferson, and Madison. He was himself a man of vigorous personality, and it is quite possible that he resolved from the beginning that his tribunal should more than hold its own in coöperation with the executive and legislative departments; and so firmly did he carry out this idea—which does not seem to have occurred to his predecessors—that, with the Constitution as his instrumentality, he was able to put a checkrein on president and Congress alike.

But there were other influences still more powerful which controlled his action. His intellect was intensely logical, and a centralized and consolidated nation was a much more comprehensible conception than a loose congeries of states, pulling against each other and even threatening to part company entirely at any hour. This practical attitude of mind towards the new government had been emphasized by his recollection of his impressions as a soldier of the Revolution. Then he was an American fighting for the exclusive possession of a vast territory. His native state, for the time being, was forgotten. In other words, he looked at the situation from a continental point of view.

But there was still another reason for his nationalistic preference. He had seen thirteen communities so torn by conflicting interests as to be unable to unite with unselfish patriotism in the cause of all to win the freedom of all. The central administration was helpless to change the situation, inasmuch as such power as it possessed was, at best, grudgingly acknowledged, and at the worst, completely ignored. There was no one strong government; rather, for national purposes at least, there were thirteen separate incompetent governments, which were either balking or entirely kicking over the traces.

There can be no doubt also that Marshall's profound admiration for Washington, the man who, whether in or out of office, never failed to put the requirements of the country at large above the requirements of the individual states, had a distinct influence in molding the future Chief Justice's convictions on the momentous subject of the right position

which the nation should occupy in the association of commonwealths. It was at that time a really constructive office which he had been invited to fill, the most constructive that has been recorded in the whole history of the American judiciary. As its incumbent, he was now called upon to show not only the highest spirit of jurisprudence, but also the highest spirit of statecraft. William Pinkney, the most famous lawyer of his day, said that Marshall "was born to be the Chief-Justice of any country in which he lived." But he was entitled to a greater encomium than this. The United States is the powerful government that we find it to be in our own era because, behind the astute judge in Marshall, there was the far more commanding figure of the constructive statesman.

It was claimed by Marshall that he interpreted the Constitution in the light of the palpable meaning of its words, without regard to the rigid Jeffersonian theory on the one hand, or the loose Hamiltonian on the other. What, in his opinion, was this meaning? Fundamentally, he said, the new government was designed to govern. If this result could have been more successfully accomplished by applying the principles of the Republicans than by applying the principles of the Federalists, then it is altogether probable that he would have permitted himself to be so guided in his decisions, without giving a thought to his former political affiliations with the Federalist party. The Republicans themselves charged that he made Federalist law in nine cases of every ten argued before him; but if he really did this, it was not because he was a Federalist, but because he was a nationalist; and he was a nationalist because, in his judgment, it was only through the growth of nationalistic sentiment, independent of all political parties, that the Union could be preserved.

In the long list of decisions which Marshall as the spokesman of the Supreme Court delivered, there are some which in their interpretation of the Constitution's language were peculiarly favorable to the building up of a consolidated central government. First in this list was the decision in the

case of Marbury against Madison. This established the right of the Supreme Court to pass upon the validity of every act of Congress, and to pronounce it to be a nullity should it be repugnant to the terms of the Constitution. Congress, the voice of the people, which was the only source of power in the United States, was in itself impotent, in spite of its representative character, should it go beyond the line prescribed by the fundamental law of the land.

In application of the same rule, the Supreme Court through Marshall declared a certain act of the Georgia legislature to be invalid, on the ground that it rescinded a previous statute of the same body under which conveyances had already been made and interests had already become vested. These vested interests, said the Court, put a different complexion on the repeal, for the original act had by this fact been converted into a contract which neither state nor individual could impair without violating the express provision of the national Constitution on that very point.

The case of Dartmouth College was substantially of the same tenor. Was the incorporating charter granted to that seat of learning by the Crown—whose powers and obligations had now fallen to the state of New Hampshire, so far as they related to its territory—a contract at bottom between the Crown and the trustees of the college? Was it in operation, not only before, but also after, the Revolution? Both. "It was, therefore," said Chief Justice Marshall, "a contract within the letter of the Constitution, and within its spirit too, and the legislature of the State had no legal power whatever to pass, as it had done, a law that would impair its validity."

The case of McCulloch against the state of Maryland was even more significant. Did Congress have a right to charter a national bank? The Constitution, it is true, conferred no direct authority on that body to create a corporation, but it did assert that Congress should have the authority to adopt any law that would be required to carry the Constitution's enumerated powers into effect. Was a national bank indispensable for that purpose?" "No," replied the opponents of

the measure, "and hence such a proposal is unwarranted." "Yes," said the supporters, "for although the bank may not be indispensable, it may yet be necessary as an additional agent for easing the Government's financial operations." Chief Justice Marshall adopted the latter view. "If," said he, "the word *necessary* means *needful, essential, requisite, conducive to,* in order to let in the power of punishment for the infraction of law, why is it not equally comprehensive when required to authorize the use of means which facilitate the execution of the powers of government without the infliction of punishment?" This decision made valid the doctrine of the Constitution's implied powers, by means of which the central government's further consolidation was enormously promoted; and it has perhaps done more by itself to curtail and limit the powers of the individual state than all the other nationalistic utterances of Marshall as a judge have done in combination.

Another step was taken towards the further subordination of the state by the decision in the case of Cohen against the commonwealth of Virginia. In this case it was affirmed that in a suit between a state and some one of its citizens, the Supreme Court, in the exercise of its appellate jurisdiction, had the right to intervene; and it could also reverse the judgment of a state court. But in each instance, the cause must have arisen under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States.

Perhaps the most dramatic incident in Marshall's judicial career was his participation as the presiding judge in the trial of Aaron Burr, who was charged with treason. This occurred in the spring of 1807. Burr was defended by the most astute lawyers of that day. Edmund Randolph, John Wickham, Charles Lee, and Luther Martin were the most conspicuous of his counsel. A great multitude of visitors, drawn to Richmond by the celebrity of the occasion, swelled the normal population of the city. The grand jury selected to hear the case was headed by John Randolph, and its other members were men of exceptionally high standing in the society of the community. During the delay caused by the

detention on the road of General Wilkinson, the principal witness, several motions were submitted by the lawyers on either side and decided by the Court. Among the most important of these was one praying for the cancellation of Burr's bail bond and his commitment to prison to answer the charge against him. The judges decided that before this could be done proof that war had been actually levied had to be given, as well as convincing evidence that an overt act of treason had been committed.

Colonel Burr, alleging that he was otherwise unable to procure certain documents necessary to his case, prayed the judges to grant a subpoena which would compel the federal marshal to bring into court, by force if necessary, the President of the United States, although he was only technically the custodian of the papers desired to be used in the testimony for the defense. The Chief Justice allowed the motion, after a labored exposition of his reasons for so unnecessary and so disrespectful an act on his part, an act which was calculated to excite the resentment of every citizen of the United States jealous for the dignity and authority of the great office which Jefferson occupied. As it was well known to Marshall that the President had criticized the partisan flavor given to the trial by the Federalists, it is not impossible that the Chief Justice's usually impartial mind let personal prejudice unconsciously influence him somewhat in imposing on the chief magistrate an order which was certain to humiliate that functionary to obey, and in doing so, also to lower the prestige of his office. Jefferson had frankly deprecated the nationalistic trend of Marshall's decisions in the Supreme Court, and it would have been human enough had a desire to retaliate indirectly lurked somewhere in the latter's otherwise serene breast. Nor was this desire the less reprehensible, if it really did exist, because he was able to put forth such plausible reasons for his action. Nothing was gained by that action, if he had any secret purpose of placing the President in an embarrassing position, for Jefferson acknowledged the reception of the subpoena only to the extent of transmitting to the federal attorney for the Rich-

mond district the documents wanted.

A true bill was found by the grand jury against Burr, and a petit jury was quickly impaneled to try him. In his charge Marshall defined the nature of treason and then keenly analyzed the circumstances brought up against the accused in a manner favorable to his innocence. Under the pressure of this analysis, the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty, and Burr was discharged, after giving bail that he would appear in Ohio if summoned by the federal court there to answer for his acts while preparing for the invasion of the Southwest.

There were two important events in the course of Marshall's mature years that had no connection with his duties as a judge. One of these was the publication of a biography of Washington. This work, which appeared during 1804, was looked forward to by the public with remarkable interest, but the impression which it made when issued was on the whole one of disappointment. In weighing this fact, however, we should allow materially for the undisguised hositility to the author and his book which was keenly felt and openly expressed by Jefferson's partisans. The value of the work in reality was diminished by limited research and hasty composition; and for these defects Marshall himself apologized in a second and abbreviated edition. He revealed the modesty of his character by refusing to insert his judicial title after his name on the front page. The work is now consulted only by scholars, for it is lacking in the principal qualities that assure a general popularity.

The second important event in the Chief Justice's later life, outside of his court room, was his election to the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, in which the collective ability and political learning of the state were gathered to an extent that had never before, and has never since, been equaled in the same commonwealth. He spoke but rarely during its proceedings, and then always briefly. It was characteristic of the native bent of his mind that he was strongly in favor of the compromise ultimately adopted to reconcile the opposing arguments of those who favored

a white basis of suffrage and those who favored a mixed basis, that is to say, a combination of persons and property. He earnestly advocated the preservation of the county court system and the retention of the existing method of filling the local bench. He thought that this method furnished the best security for the continuance of the present impartial and upright local magistracy. "An ignorant, corrupt, or dependent judiciary," he said, "was the greatest scourge an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and sinning people."

The institution of slavery was repugnant to his sense of social justice, but he thought that the only safe way of removing it was to adopt and carry out a general plan for the gradual transportation of the majority of the bondsmen to Liberia. In order to defray the expense of purchasing these bondsmen from their owners and of shipping and settling them comfortably in their new abode, it would be necessary, he said, for the states interested to contribute in proportion to their slave population; and he also suggested that the sum from the sale of the public lands of the United States be reserved for the same purpose.

Marshall vigorously sustained President Jackson in his opposition to nullification in South Carolina. He had no sympathy with the leaders of that movement, and he had still less with the members of the Hartford Convention, which went even further on the road leading to secession.

By nature he was, in spite of his peculiarly serious duties, a man of a cheerful and even gay temperament, friendly in his bearing to all, and singularly free from pretension and ostentation. He lived among his neighbors a figure simple and unassuming in demeanor, but in mind and character invested with a noble dignity that was not dependent upon external trappings for the profound impression which they made on all who came within the influence of his personality. He stands out in the history of his country as one of the colossal citizens who have borne the principal part in molding its destinies.

Chapter VI

PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE

Of all the men who in the early history of the United State were highly distinguished for their political services, James Monroe has suffered most from neglect, although his career was singularly rich in its association with great events which he had an important share in bringing about. At one time or another in the course of that career, he had been a delegate in the General Assembly and in several conventions in Virginia, Governor of the state, member of both houses of Congress, minister to three of the foremost powers of Europe, envoy extraordinary to France for the purchase of Louisiana, Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and during two terms President of the United States.

With the single exception of the vice-presidency he had occupied every one of the highest posts of honor in the gift of the people; and to complete the roll of his achievements, he is justly entitled to the principal credit for the adoption of the World Doctrine which bears his name. Nevertheless, no adequate biography of him has been written, and the publication of his public papers in full has so far never been undertaken. Both facts seem to be the more surprising when it is recalled that with the exception of his first mission to France, Monroe was not the victim of those violent controversies which have seriously tarnished the fame of so many of our public men by raising up in their lifetime, or after their deaths, swarms of relentless and poisonous detractors. On the contrary, he spent the most exalted part of his career in an era celebrated for the prevalence of

national good feeling. Nor was that career restricted to a purely domestic round of events. The Monroe Doctrine has carried his name from continent to continent, across the sweep of the entire seven seas. In his private life he was a man of unsullied conduct, and in his political, of the loftiest integrity. There was no episode in his career, from start to finish, justly to excite popular distrust of his uprightness. Indeed, the purity of his patriotism was admitted by his opponents as candidly as by his friends.

In spite of all these useful and honorable facts in his favor, his memory remains in a thin mist of obscurity that does not show as yet any tendency to lift. Possibly the explanation lies in the undemonstrative solidity of his moral disposition and in the absence of a striking originality in his mental. Well-informed and faithful as he was, he lacked the magnitude of character which made Washington something far higher than a man simply of unerring judgment; he lacked the trait of idealism which gave a gloss to the most practical ideas of Jefferson; he lacked the profundity of thought, the breadth of information, and the constructive ability which have placed Madison second only to Burke in the history of English political philosophy.

And yet he was a great public servant, a servant not the less great because he was fashioned upon the familiar model of the trained English diplomatist in permanent office, rather than upon the model of the normal American public man, dependent upon popular good will for the retention of his position, and inclined to cater to that good will by every means in his power.

Monroe was born within the confines of a district of Virginia, the lower Northern Neck, which has produced more men of extraordinary distinction than any equal area of soil to be found in the United States. The most conspicuous of these were George Washington, James Madison, Robert E. Lee, and Monroe himself. The five Lees of the Revolution, Richard Henry, Arthur, Philip Ludwell, Francis Lightfoot, and Light-Horse Harry, also belong to the same roll. Socially, the Monroe family stood upon a respectable

but not a conspicuous platform, although like the Masons they traced their descent by tradition from an officer who served in the royalist army during the Civil Wars. The future Chief Magistrate was only seven years old when the Stamp Act was passed, but he was probably sufficiently matured at the time to notice the open excitement which that measure caused among the persons who were in the habit of visiting his parents. His father was one of the most eager and indignant signers of the remonstrance against the Act, which was soon put in circulation in the neighborhood, and his denunciations could hardly have failed to impress the intelligent lad at his elbow with some faint emotion of patriotism.

He had not yet arrived at his seventeenth year when he matriculated at the College of William and Mary, even then spoken of as "ancient," although it had only passed its centenary by a brief interval. But in that new world a decade seemed to be a long period of time. Even if its existence in the past had been comparatively brief in reality, it was venerable in spirit in consequence of its having carried forward in a sparsely populated colony the great scholastic traditions inherited from Oxford. Many distinguished men had as pupils drunk at that pleasant fountain, and still more were to do so in the future.

But those waters of old world learning did not prevent the American fire from flaming up fiercely in the breasts of professors and students alike when the first call of the Revolution was sounded. That call was promptly obeyed, and by none of the students with more ardor than by the youthful Monroe. He took his place in the ranks of the Continental army as a lieutenant in the Third Virginia Regiment, which formed a part of Washington's troops, stationed at this time (1776) in the vicinity of New York City; participated in the unequal struggle at Haarlem and White Plains; and was subsequently wounded at Trenton while leading, with Captain William Washington, the impetuous American vanguard in the attack on the British detachments that were endeavoring to bar the streets of the town.

He fought in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and afterwards served as aide on Lord Sterling's staff.

Ultimately he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel. "He has in every instance," said Washington in recommending him for promotion, "maintained the reputation of a brave, active, and sensible officer."

After the close of the military campaigns of the Revolution, Monroe was elected to a seat in the General Assembly of Virginia and subsequently to a seat in Congress. In the discussions of the latter body respecting the general powers of the Confederation, he was in favor of strengthening and enlarging these powers until their feebleness had been removed. It was upon his motion that Congress endeavored to obtain through the alteration of the ninth article of the existing agreement the authority to regulate commerce, provided that nine states through their representatives should give their assent. And he also urged that each commonwealth should be permitted to reserve for its own use all imposts collected at its borders. It was not until the Federal Constitution was adopted that progress was made towards a final settlement of these two vital and fundamental questions.

As a delegate in Congress, Monroe was, like Madison, keenly interested in blocking the Spanish design of closing the free navigation of the Mississippi, although such a design had been expressly stipulated against in the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, in harmony with the right secured by the former power in a previous treaty with Spain. He was particularly active in opposing the compromise of this right which Jay had proposed. Somewhat inconsistently with his indignant condemnation of the "infirmities of the Confederation," he supported with all the ability at his command the vigorous efforts which Henry and Mason made to prevent the ratification of the federal Constitution by the Convention of 1788. His principal reasons for antagonizing the adoption of that instrument were (1) that in its present form it put no strong check

on the exercise of official power; and (2) that it also made possible the continuation of the same man in the presidency for an indefinite period. Monroe, like Jefferson, exaggerated the domestic sentiment in favor of the restoration of the royal form of government. In reality, this sentiment existed only among a negligible number of people, taking the country as a whole. With the proper amendments, the Constitution in his opinion could be deprived of its dangerous scope; and in the end he expressed his willingness to see it ratified if the necessary corrective alterations were made in its text.

After Grayson's death Monroe was chosen as Richard Henry Lee's colleague in the Senate, and thus, through the legislative action of his native state, he was one of the first of its citizens to enjoy the dignity of national office. In that body he took an inflexible stand in opposition to Hamilton's financial measures; and in his political attitude in general he exhibited an antagonistic spirit in his relations with Washington's administration, which was endeavoring so disinterestedly to establish the federal government on a lasting foundation, but which from so many unexpected quarters was compelled to face impediments to its progress and repel aspersions on its character.

In spite of this spirit of opposition on his part, he was, doubtless through Jefferson's influence, nominated to the post of envoy to France after Thomas Pinckney and Robert R. Livingston had both declined the appointment. The situation in France at this hour made Monroe's position there anomalous. Robespierre had recently been carted to the guillotine, and with the exception of the United States there was not a civilized nation on earth officially represented in Paris. The new American minister was after some delay received by the Convention, on which occasion he delivered an address which expressed with too great warmth the American good will for the French people; and in reciprocation of these fervent sentiments he was publicly and effusively embraced by the president of that body on the floor of its hall, while the American flag was entwined with the tricolor above the tribune. When Rousseau's remains were

re-interred in the Pantheon, "Citizen" Monroe and his suite were the only foreigners admitted to witness the imposing ceremony. This unconcealed partisanship for the French, at a time when that nation was at war with two countries at peace with the United States, excited the criticism of his own Government as conflicting in spirit with the attitude of neutrality which it had assumed between the belligerents. Edmund Randolph, then Secretary of State, in a private dispatch reprimanded him somewhat sharply for imprudence and warned him to cultivate thereafter "the French Republic with zeal, but without any unnecessary éclat."

From the beginning of his mission Monroe was confronted with a serious cause of friction between the two countries in the fact that numerous American vessels with their cargoes had been seized by the French authorities, and many American citizens were still unjustifiably languishing in French prisons. To aggravate the inauspicious character of the situation, the French Government demanded of him a copy of the Jay Treaty, as it was reported to be in conflict with obligations that the Americans had assumed in a previous treaty with France. Monroe's reply was keyed in a conciliatory tone, but this did little to quiet the excitement of the French people.

When the treaty's provisions became really known to him, his indignation was as keenly aroused as if he had been a Frenchman himself; but this was not because he thought that the previous treaty with the French had been thereby violated, but because he was convinced that too much consideration had been shown the British. He suppressed the evidence of his own disapproval so successfully that he was able to persuade the French Government to abandon its intention of sending an envoy to the United States to voice its dissatisfaction with the new agreement with England. This feeling had risen to such a height that war was actually threatened. In fact, the American Government had become so much worried over this possibility that it was disposed to reflect upon the American minister's competency; and

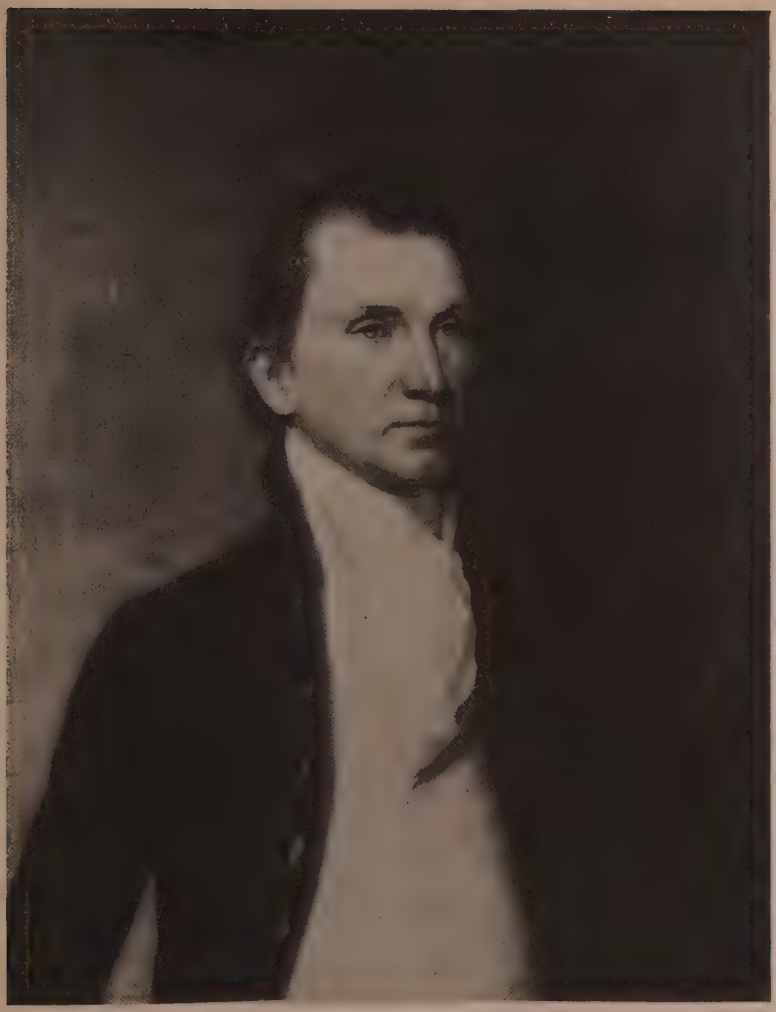

PLATE VII. *After the Vanderlyn Portrait. Photo Gramstorff.*

PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE

this criticism of his conduct did not grow less severe when Pickering took Randolph's place in the State Department. Within a few months Monroe was superseded by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whom, however, the Directory, now in power, refused to receive.

On Monroe's arrival in Philadelphia he was honored with a public dinner by his Republican backers, including Jefferson, then Vice-President, and Dayton, then Speaker of the House. The fact that he hastened to plant himself again in vigorous opposition to the administration was only another proof that Washington had acted unwisely in appointing as envoy to France at that time so keen a Republican partisan to an office of such delicate responsibilities. His lack of sympathy with the Government's general policy, as revealed in the proclamation of neutrality and the negotiations of Jay's Treaty, was alone sufficient to convert his mission into a failure from the point of view of the President and most of the cabinet, if not of the American people at large. The explanation of his conduct offered by Washington himself was perhaps too tartly expressed in the following words: "Mr. Monroe was cajoled, flattered, and made to believe strange things. In return, he did or was disposed to do, whatever was pleasant to that nation to do, reluctantly urging the rights of his own."

There was one friend who refused to swerve one hair's breadth in his loyalty to the discredited envoy, smarting under the whip of reproof and detraction. This was Jefferson. Jefferson urged him to seek election to Congress, but Monroe contented himself with the governorship of his native state. Still Jefferson did not forget him, and his nomination as envoy to France a second time quickly followed Jefferson's assumption of the presidency. It was this mission which was made so memorable in our national history by the purchase of Louisiana. In 1801 Spain promised to cede all her rights in that region to France, but it was not until the next year that it was publicly announced that New Orleans would no longer be open to American citizens as a place of deposit in the transportation of merchandise

up and down the Mississippi. Congress promptly appropriated the sum of two million dollars for the acquisition from France of an outlet to the mouth of the river and confirmed Monroe's nomination as envoy extraordinary to cooperate with Livingston, now the resident minister in Paris, in obtaining the conveyance to the United States of the corridor to the sea so ardently desired.

The general situation at this time was as follows: Spain was bound by contract to turn Louisiana over to France, but retained her proprietorship in the Floridas. France was on the edge of another outbreak of hostility against England, for which she needed large sums of money if she was to prosecute it with success. Moreover, she had very sound reasons to apprehend the seizure of the newly promised territory by English fleets if war should be actually declared. And should that territory be taken, she would have to abandon all hope of obtaining the equivalent of its value in cash. If Louisiana could not be safely held, unless England and France were at peace, a condition always precarious at best, would it not be wiser for France to sell? And here was Livingston already making an offer for its purchase. Not only would a large sum accrue from the sale, but also so soon as it was consummated, a new powerful rival to England would be raised up in the Western Hemisphere that ultimately might threaten her naval supremacy throughout the world.

In a letter which Livingston wrote Monroe in April, 1803, to congratulate him on his arrival at Havre, he said, "I have paved the way for you." But nothwithstanding the convincing reasons for the sale, the French Government, dominated by Bonaparte, could not overcome the reluctance which it felt to accept the American offer. "War may do something for us," said Livingston in the letter to Monroe already quoted. "Nothing else would." The very day on which this letter was placed in his colleague's hand at Havre, a conference was held by the First Consul, Talleyrand, and Marbois, without arriving at any decision; but twelve hours afterwards, the news reached Bonaparte that England was

on the eve of declaring war, and he at once determined to sell the territory in jeopardy. Talleyrand had somewhat languidly been sounding Livingston about the price, but Marbois was now positively instructed to submit an offer to sell for one hundred million francs the whole area of Louisiana. This offer was made in person to Livingston. Monroe now for the first time took part in the negotiations by joining his colleague in a tender of forty millions, which was afterwards increased to fifty millions, and in the end to eighty, which was to include the amount of French indebtedness claimed by Americans, estimated at twenty millions. On May 2 the copy of the treaty printed in the French language was signed.

On the whole, Livingston would appear to be more entitled to the honor of this enormous acquisition of territory than Monroe, but neither Monroe nor Livingston would have possessed the smallest chance of success had not the cloud of war with Great Britain hung over France at the time. It was this providential circumstance, and not skill in negotiation, which was the determining factor. Livingston seems to have been correct in asserting, as he did long after his departure from Paris, "Mr. Monroe came too late to do more than assent to the propositions that were made us, and to aid in reducing them to form." It is true that the letter which Livingston addressed to Monroe, then at Havre, indicates a mood of uncertainty about the upshot, but this was the natural consequence of the shifting aspects of the French negotiations at the moment, which, as we have seen, were swayed by the shadow of an expected but not yet assured war.

By this transaction of the Purchase, the United States obtained far more than she had bargained for in the beginning. Instead of securing a limited region near the mouth of the great river, she acquired an area that doubled her territory in extent.

Monroe had been commissioned envoy to Spain as well as to France, but he now postponed his visit to Madrid, setting out instead for London in order to negotiate with the

English Government for the discontinuance of the impressment of American sailors and also of the overhauling of American merchant vessels by English men-of-war. Nothing, however, was gained for the time being by his interviews with the supercilious British foreign minister on these subjects, and the depressed Monroe decided to return to Paris for the purpose of seeking Napoleon's coöperation in his proposed negotiation at Madrid for the cession of all the Spanish possessions situated east of the mouth of the Mississippi. But he received no encouragement from the French Government, and he and Pinckney departed for Madrid, where their mission proved to be equally unsuccessful. In the meanwhile, the British outrages upon American rights on the sea had been repeated, without apology or promise of indemnification or assurance of discontinuation in the future.

Monroe went back to London in the hope that the new Foreign Secretary, Charles James Fox, would be more amenable to protest, and there he was joined by William Pinkney, who had been chosen as his associate in the English mission. The treaty, which after much delay they were able to wrest from the British Government, omitted all reference to the main subject in controversy between the two countries, and Jefferson therefore determined to withhold it from the Senate's ratification. The American commissioners had hardly taken steps to negotiate a second treaty when news of the *Leopard's* attack on the American man-of-war, *Chesapeake*, reached them and halted any further attempt at the moment to settle the points in dispute by formal agreement. The orders in council soon followed, and the prospect of an amicable arrangement grew smaller and darker.

The failure of the negotiations placed Monroe, after his return to the United States, in a position of disadvantage in the opinion of the Republican leaders, who were considering Madison and himself as candidates for the succession to Jefferson. Madison won their preference, but two years after his election he appointed Monroe to the post of secretary of state. The long-impending hostilities between

England and the United States were now on the eve of outburst, and Congress was feverishly engaged in preparing, both in the War and in the Navy Departments for their vigorous prosecution so soon as they should once begin. This event took place on the eighteenth of June, 1812. William Pinkney, Secretary of War at this time, drafted the declaration of hostilities, and Monroe, Secretary of State, transmitted it to the British Government. Thus the blow was delivered by the two men who had suffered humiliation in London from the arrogant self-sufficiency of the British foreign secretaries.

As if the tasks of the single office to which he was at first appointed were not heavy enough, Monroe was requested by the President to take over temporarily the still more onerous responsibilities of the War Department, for which he had been at least partly trained by his military experience during the Revolutionary conflict. He was, however, soon replaced by General John Armstrong, who quickly exposed himself to his predecessor's criticism by announcing his intention of assuming command in person of the American troops stationed on the Canadian frontier. Armstrong also favored conscription, which Monroe warmly condemned. The battle of Bladensburg and the burning of the capital followed in rapid succession, and Monroe, in Armstrong's absence in western Maryland, was ordered by the President to take charge of the War Department again and also serve as military commander of the district. His assumption of these new duties brought about an improvement in the military situation, as was demonstrated by the subsequent defense of Washington and the repulse of the enemy at Baltimore.

Monroe occupied the presidency during two terms. His second election was rendered memorable by his obtaining every vote in the electoral college, except one, which was cast for another candidate in order to retain for Washington the distinction of being the only President so far who had received the unanimous support of that body. His cabinet contained men of such remarkable talents and such ripe

political experience as William Wirt, William Harris Crawford, John C. Calhoun, and John Quincy Adams.

Certain policies which Monroe carried out in his administration were such as to produce that historic era of good feeling which marked the middle period of his incumbency. At this time the cabinet was still limited to a few seats, and these he thought should be divided equally between the four sections of the Union. This was a very appropriate rule in the eyes of the people at large. His second policy was still more conducive to popularity. This was his adoption of a conciliatory attitude towards the remnant of the Federalist party, which soon had the effect of drawing most of them into the Republican fold. The third was reflected in the succession of tours which he made through the North and South, in the course of which he was brought into the personal view of a very large proportion of the American people. Monroe's only escort in his progress through New England was General Swift, a distinguished and admired native of that region, the tactfulness of whose choice left a favorable impression upon the good will of the New Englanders, who had come out of the recent war in a dissatisfied, if not seditious, frame of mind. It was said at the time that all the President's auditors among them were Federalists; all were Republicans.

In this southern tour, the President's itinerary carried him as far as Augusta towards the Gulf, and as far as Nashville towards the Mississippi.

In 1817 hostilities began with the Seminole Indians on the Georgia-Florida frontier. General Jackson, who was dispatched to the scene to punish the members of that tribe for their outrages, favored the expulsion of the Spaniards from their east Florida territory, since the savages were always quick to fly to them when pressed too hard on American soil. Boldly leading his army across the border, as if his instructions from Washington empowered him to do this, he captured Pensacola and afterwards clutched other Spanish strongholds; and not satisfied with arousing Spain's anger by this arbitrary course, he incensed the British Gov-

ernment by shooting two English subjects of prominence who were suspected of encouraging and protecting the Indian marauders. Somewhat half-heartedly, Monroe subsequently shouldered the responsibility for this energetic but lawless campaign, which had an honorable upshot the following year in the acquisition of the Floridas by formal treaty.

The first violent outbreak of sectional passion over the suppressed volcano, slavery, occurred in the controversy that ended in the Missouri Compromise. It was clearly perceived by all thoughtful men at the time that the existence of the Union itself was at hazard. It was first urged that the institution of slavery should not be allowed to be introduced within the projected state, but the opposition to this policy was so determined and so threatening that its application had to be confined to a more or less narrow field. By the provisions of the ultimate settlement of the disputed question, slavery was granted an open door to the soil of the new state; but it was not to be allowed to enter any part of the territorial domain lying north of the line 36° 30′. The dragon was simply scotched for a time. It was later on to come fully to life again, to be finally throttled in fire and blood.

Monroe assumed an impartial attitude during the wrangle in Congress. If the restrictionists should succeed, the non-slaveholding states would eventually become the majority in number. This would give them the preponderance of votes in the National Assembly and also the superiority in material resources in the country at large. "As slavery is recognized by the Constitution," Monroe said before the compromise was adopted, "it is evidently unjust to restrain the owner from carrying his slave into a territory and retaining his right to him there; but whether the power to do this has not been granted is the point on which I have doubts. If I can be satisfied that the Constitution forbids restraint, I shall, of course, obey it in all cases."

The Constitution was also his guide in considering the question of public improvements, which, with the spread of population to the region of the Mississippi and its eastern

tributaries, became yearly of increased importance. When the Act of 1822 for the construction of the Cumberland Road, a highly useful measure, was laid before him, he stamped his veto on it, but he was so clearly aware of the real merits of the project that in a message to Congress he advised the passage of an amendment which would empower the central government to undertake the building of extensive national works in order to give facility to interstate transportation.

From a sentimental point of view Lafayette's spectacular tour through the United States as the country's guest was one of the most important events of Monroe's administration. There seems to have been some diversity of opinion in the cabinet as to the manner in which the great Frenchman should be received by the authorities. Calhoun especially was overcautious in his hesitancy. He thought that it would be "hazardous" for the administration to follow too sympathetically the General's movements; but at the same time he acknowledged that it would be ungracious to run counter to the enthusiasm which the American people were showing in anticipation of Lafayette's journey through their respective communities. In the end he concluded that it would be better to endure the criticism of the English than to be condemned for coldness to a benefactor by the nation at large.

The personal relations of Monroe with the distinguished guest were cordial and intimate. By his efforts, during his mission to France, to secure the gallant Frenchman's release from the dungeons of Olmutz, Monroe had already won a warm place in Lafayette's grateful and affectionate heart; and this was confirmed by the President's hearty bearing as man and chief magistrate alike in extending him a national welcome.

In spite of the neglect of Monroe's services by his own countrymen, his name, with the single exception of Washington's, enjoys the widest international celebrity of any American political name in history; and this is due to its association with a vast policy which has grown in importance for foreign countries as the United States has advanced

in wealth and power, and which, unless abandoned in deference to pacifists, internationalists, and European leagues, is destined to continue to influence beneficially the fortunes of the Western Hemisphere. When the careers of the presidents, including even the career of the renowned Father of his Country, shall have sunk into the vaguest of outlines in the recollection of other nations, Monroe will still be remembered because his announcement that the United States would permit no more interference by the Powers of the Old World with the political status of the New put a permanent check upon all further encroachments by these powers in the West. The Monroe Doctrine is a bar against which these governments have never ceased to chafe, and against which they will go on chafing as the need of purging their respective lands of a surplus population increases in acuteness. That Doctrine is the flaming sword which guards the American gate, and on its blade, as visible as a warning star in the midnight heavens, is the simple word, "Monroe." What other incumbent of the presidential chair enjoys such an immortal distinction as this?

The first formal expression of the Doctrine appeared in Monroe's message to Congress dated December 2, 1823. It was enunciated more incidentally than would have been expected of so memorable an utterance. A passing misunderstanding between the American and Russian Governments over certain questions of rights and interests connected with their respective territories in the remote Northwest was the practical occasion. In referring to this temporary conflict, Monroe declared that "the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing Colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with regard to the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and

whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The Monroe Doctrine was the final expression of a feeling of opposition to European encroachment which had been long growing among the American people. Jefferson had gone so far, while envoy in Paris in 1785, as to caution his countrymen to keep not only their government, but their manners, uncontaminated by what he called the "European contagion." Washington had dwelt in his Farewell Address on the disadvantages of foreign political alliance; and John Adams in his annual presidential messages had repeated the warning. These earnest admonitions, delivered by men of so much distinction, had made a deep impression on all American citizens as soon as uttered, only to be confirmed at an early day by the outrages against American rights on the sea committed by France and England.

As early as 1818 President Monroe had submitted to the members of his cabinet, among other questions on the subject of foreign affairs, this question: Shall the United States instruct its ministers in Europe to announce that it would not take part in any project of interposition between Spain and her South American colonies, unless the purpose was "to promote the complete independence of those provinces?" The cabinet's reply was in the affirmative; and Rush, the minister in London, in obedience to this decision declined to commit the United States to joint mediation with Great Britain between Spain and her Western possessions "except on the basis of the independence of the latter."

The popular sympathy with this general attitude had grown in strength in the interval of five years that passed before the formal proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine took place. Jefferson had expressed this feeling in a letter written to William Short, which had urged "the cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance

of their coalescing in an American system of policy totally independent of, and completely unconnected with, that of Europe." "The day," he added, "is not distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other." Some years afterwards Secretary of State John Quincy Adams was still more emphatic in the course of a conversation held with a foreign minister in Washington. "The United States," he said, "would assume distinctly the principle that the American Continents are no longer subjects for any new European Colonial establishments." In September of the same year, 1823, the English Government had proposed through Canning that the United States should coöperate with Great Britain in protecting the struggling Spanish American colonies from the intervention of the Continental Powers. Before replying, Monroe had consulted with Jefferson as to the proper course to pursue. "The first and fundamental maxim," was the answer, "should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; the second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should, therefore, have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe."

Forty-nine days later the celebrated message was sent to Congress. Whoever may have drafted particular clauses in this document, the primary responsibility for the policy which it proclaimed belonged to Monroe; and to him has very properly been assigned the credit, for it was he who boldly and permanently formulated a sentiment which previously had, as we have pointed out, been simply a matter of American public opinion and aspiration alone.

It has been justly asserted that the fundamental spirit of Monroe's career, the foundation stone on which his reputation will always rest, is his vigorous Americanism. This characteristic exhibited itself from start to finish. As a young man he took part in bringing to a close British do-

minion in the former colonies, and in establishing an independent government in its place; he was a resolute supporter of the American right to the free navigation of the Mississippi; he was one of the two envoys whose negotiations added the empire of Louisiana to the area of the United States, and thrust from the soil beyond the great river both the Spanish and the French Powers; he was one of the most efficient public agents in restoring American confidence in American arms in the War of 1812-13, the second War of Independence; and finally, after participating in so many events that led to the exclusion of Europe from all control over the political destinies of his own country, he proclaimed a doctrine that has been instrumental in putting a stop to further European aggressions and encroachments in the entire Western Hemisphere.

While Monroe's principal services were performed in behalf of the United States as a whole, he had also more than once been a useful public officer for his native state. He had been a member of the Convention that ratified the Constitution; had filled with distinction the office of governor; and had also been a delegate to the Convention of 1829. In association with Jefferson and Madison, he had been a member of the Board of Visitors of the new University of Virginia. Jefferson, with rare felicity, summed up the integrity of his character when he said, "The soul of James Monroe might be turned wrong side outwards without discovering a blemish to the world."

Chapter VII

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE

It has been John Randolph's lot to be more interesting in the retrospect as a man than as a statesman, in which latter character we are now contemplating him. He did not belong to the Napoleonic type, which offers as much in solid deeds as in personality to make an eternal appeal to the abnormal curiosity of mankind. Study him on the side of his political principles alone, and the impression is one of passionate yet unbending consistency. Study him on the side of his personal peculiarities, and the impression is one of eccentricity, irregularity, and, at times, of actual insanity.

The fidelity and constancy which he showed in the maintenance of his political convictions seem to be out of harmony with the aberrations that so often distorted his private conduct. It would be going entirely too far to say that the gulf which separated the statesman from the individual was as significant as that which lay between Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, for only idiosyncrasies of character that harmed himself alone were involved. But the contrast was at times highly startling. It is true that he was often erratic in both the sentiments and the expression of his public addresses, but this eccentricity did not reach down to those fundamental political beliefs to which he had adhered in peace and in war. It is not incorrect to say that he was the only member of conspicuous reputation of the old Republican party—the party of States' Rights in their original purity—who never deviated by the breadth of a hair from the doctrines which he had avowed in his first speech from the hust-

ings. In short, Randolph, the most inconsistent man of his age in his private conduct, was the most consistent in his political course.

All the previous circumstances of his life were nicely calculated to prepare him for a public career. In his native Virginia during the period that followed the Revolution—and this was equally true of the period which preceded it—the disposition of the voters at large was to call into public affairs every young man of promise who exhibited the smallest aspiration for political distinction. Randolph had behind him not only scintillant powers of mind and a captivating address, but also—what was more influential in that age than in our own—the prestige of family. When, as a young man of twenty-five, he made his first canvass for Congress, it was no disadvantage to him that his ancestors had been identified with the colony and the state during many generations as landowners in the active pursuit of their calling; that they had been councilors, burgesses, or delegates in the General Assembly almost unbrokenly from session to session; that they had filled these important offices with fidelity, uprightness, and intelligence; that in private life they had been the financial magnates of their respective communities, the leaders of society, the supporters of the churches, and the exemplars of the most useful and most honorable citizenship.

In short, it was a distinguished name that he bore, and its claim to popular consideration was tacitly admitted by all when they first heard his voice. Moreover, different as he was from his constituents in his personality, he, too, was a planter and a slaveholder who had inherited some of the fairest acres in the district which he was seeking to represent. His calling in life, like that of his neighbors, was expected to tie him closely to the soil. He was not a lawyer or a physician or a merchant. As his father and forefathers had been before him, so was he the producer of tobacco and corn and wheat, the master of slaves, and the breeder of livestock. In brief, he was one of themselves. Here was a bond of sympathy and interest which was to have a share in increasing

his popular majority. It is quite certain that reports of his eccentricities had come to the ears of many of his auditors, but only to a degree that would deepen the curiosity aroused by his remarkable physical appearance as he rose to speak—the flashing eye, the pale face, the tall cadaverous form, the clear feminine voice, the proud bearing, the calm self-reliance.

The address at Charlotte Courthouse in 1799 was the earliest of the long series that he was destined to deliver in the district upon which he was to confer so much fame. It was the first that he had uttered anywhere, and the importance of it was enormously enhanced by the fact that Patrick Henry was the advocate whose arguments he was expected to refute. But it was a desire to hear Henry, not Randolph, that had drawn this eager, pushing throng of people to the county seat. The greater the throng, the latter probably thought, the greater the opportunity which it would offer him to make a public impression. Apparently not the smallest concern was felt by him because he had never spoken in public before; nor was he abashed by the prospect of his having to stand up before his audience while they were still bound by the spell cast by the most splendid orator of the age.

It is possible that Randolph was prompted, as he himself afterwards stated, to become a candidate by the persuasions of intimate friends who were convinced that his extraordinary talents fitted him for a political career; but there was slim probability that a man who could show the self-possession and the mental power, which he had done at Charlotte Courthouse in the presence of such an opponent as Henry, could have long checked his inherent bent towards public life. It will be recalled that Henry, though wracked by physical infirmities, in his old age responded to Washington's earnest request for his appearance on the hustings in defense of the Adams administration and in opposition to the sentiments of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, which tended to weaken the national government by strengthening the rights of the states. Randolph's speech in reply was ren-

dered less effective by hoarseness; but he maintained the principles he avowed with so much clearness and pertinency as to hold his audience's attention to the end. This attention he continued to win and to hold in his subsequent speeches throughout the district, until he found himself after the election its representative in Congress.

Two aspects of this election deserve to be specially noted. First, he had not followed the custom which expected young men of promise to enter upon a political career in the state before they should aspire to national office. There could not be a clearer indication of the independence of Randolph's intellect and spirit than his candidacy for Congress before he had held a seat in the General Assembly. So far as tradition can be relied upon, he displayed as much capacity for political discussion in his earliest public address as he did in the maturer years of his public career. Apparently he was not a novice even then in the exhibition of his powers as a political speaker. He was as brilliant in expression and as imperturbable in bearing at the start as he was at the finish.

The second conspicuous feature of his first address was that the political doctrines which he supported in his reply to Henry he continued to entertain and uphold to the end. No accusation that he had changed his principles under the influence of practical expediency could be brought against him. The address at Charlotte Courthouse in 1799 was the precursor of all that he was to deliver on the subject of States' Rights, both in his district and in Congress. "Shall the creature of the States," he is reported to have said, "be the sole judge of the legality or constitutionality of its own act in a question of power between itself and the States? Shall they who assert a right be the sole judges of their authority to claim and to exercise it? Does not all power seek to enlarge itself, grow on that it feeds upon? Has not this been the history of all encroachments, all usurpations? If this Federal Government in all its departments then is to be the sole judge of its own usurpations, neither the people nor the States, in a short time, will have anything to contend for. This creature of their making will become their sov-

ereign, and the only result of the labors of our Revolutionary heroes will have been a change of masters."

When Randolph came before the clerk of the House of Representatives to be sworn in, his appearance was so youthful—he was, in fact, in his twenty-sixth year at the time—that this officer looked at him with unfeigned surprise and then inquired incredulously whether he had reached the age fixed by the Constitution. "Go ask my constituents," was the answer immediately flashed back that disclosed both the pride of the man and his power of terse expression. The first address which he delivered on the floor of the House revealed the same imperturbable confidence in his own abilities as his memorable reply to Patrick Henry at Charlotte Courthouse had done. His second speech was not in complete touch with his sympathies in after years. A petition had been offered by a committee of free Negroes for the adoption of such measures as would lead ultimately to the emancipation of all the Southern slaves. Randolph denied the right of Congress to intervene and deplored so direct an assault on the welfare and sensibilities of the white people of the South. But in drafting his will many years afterwards, he liberated his own bondsmen and made provision for their removal to the West.

He soon became involved in a controversy which exposed his person to the danger of a blow with fist or bludgeon. He urged that the militia alone should be relied upon as the most effective means of repelling any attack made upon the United States by a foreign power. Referring to the soldiers of the regular army, he said, "Our citizens feel a just indignation at the sight of loungers who live upon the public, who consume the fruits of their honest industry, under the pretext of protecting them from a foreign yoke. They put no confidence in the protection of a handful of ragamuffins. Instead of reducing this force [the regular army], I could wish to see the whole of it, reprobated as it is by our citizens, abandoned, and the defense of the country placed in proper hands—those of the people."

This speech was no credit either to Randolph's good judg-

ment or to his good manners, and he had the wisdom on sober second thought to rise in his seat the next day and recall the word "ragamuffin." The insult which had been conveyed in its use on so public an occasion was promptly resented by two officers. They entered his box at the theatre, where he was present with a party of friends, and intentionally and rudely jostled his person and afterwards endeavored, when he and his friends were descending the stair to the ground floor, to push the whole band down to the foot of the steps. Randolph was so incensed by this act of disrespect that he wrote a letter of sharp complaint to the President. He asserted that the independence of the national legislature and the majesty of the people at large had been assailed. Adams sent this communication to the House of Representatives. A committee of that body, composed mainly of Federalists, after formally sitting upon it, made a solemn report in which it was declared that Randolph's appeal to the President was not justified, since the privileges of the House had not been really violated. It was even a subject of doubt, they said, whether the conduct of the two officers could be interpreted in a sinister light.

The House refused to interfere, an upshot which Randolph perhaps had expected. He at least obtained the satisfaction of making the attack more public. Even the Federalists acknowledged that the word "ragamuffin" and the word "mercenary," which had also been used, were sufficiently truthful and pertinent in a general way to become the "common cant of every tavern and street in Philadelphia." On the other hand, according to report spread far and wide through the city, officers had been heard to say that there should be "picked out one by one from their own ranks men to engage Randolph in duels until he was killed."

This episode damaged his reputation for discretion but gave him, from the threshold of his congressional career, a reputation for frankness and boldness that sensibly increased his influence. His resolution providing for the discharge of supernumerary officers of the army fell through, and another resolution, which he warmly supported, for the reduc-

PLATE VIII. *From the portrait in the Corcoran Gallery, which was copied from the original by Gilbert Stuart in the possession of George P. Coleman, Esq., Williamsburg, Virginia. Photo Cook.*

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE

tion of the common file met with the same fate. But that his actions so far had not attached to his name the slur of rashness and eccentricity was proved by the fact that he was made chairman of the most important committee of the House, the Ways and Means, the membership of which was composed of the ablest and most experienced men in that assembly. The honor was all the greater because he had not yet reached his thirtieth year and had occupied a seat in Congress only during a period of two sessions. Throughout the ensuing five years he filled the highly responsible position of the leader of the House. No instance of such parliamentary distinction won so early in life is recorded in our national history, and in the history of England only in the case of the younger William Pitt. "Mr. Randolph," wrote William Plumer of New Hampshire, "goes to the House booted and spurred, with a whip in his hand. He is a very slight man. The Federalists ridicule and affect to despise him, but a despised foe often proves a dangerous enemy. As a popular speaker, he is not inferior to any man in the House."

Randolph was warm in his approval of the purchase of Louisiana and spoke with extraordinary power in support of the constitutionality of the act. Most pungent were his sarcasms at the expense of those members who now balked at making this imperial addition to the national domain, after having shown such ardor in defending Jay's discreditable treaty, which had left so many of the rights of the American people still at the mercy of the ruthless British Government.

But all the fiery currents of his upright spirit were stirred to their very depths by the occurrence of what came to be known as the Yazoo Fraud. Several years before, he had visited a friend in Georgia and while there had an opportunity of forming a correct impression of the flagrancy of this odious transaction on the very scene where it took place. It seems that the legislature had conveyed to four companies in common more than thirty-five millions of acres situated in the modern states of Alabama and Mississippi, then a

part of Georgia's territory, for a sum calculated to be but one and one-half cents an acre. This valuation was all the more fraudulent, as Whitney's invention of the cotton gin had already greatly enhanced the price of lands adapted to the culture of the cotton staple. The taint of iniquity was further increased by the fact that the members of the legislature which, by a great majority, had passed the act authorizing the sale, had, with one exception only, received either shares in the stock of the purchasing companies or actual money, for casting their votes in favor of it.

The whole transaction was in the beginning veiled in a suspicious secrecy, and when its real significance was fully revealed, the people of Georgia were aroused as by a clap of thunder to its heinousness. The next legislature to convene pronounced the grant to be invalid and void. Unfortunately, much of the land had been conveyed to grantees so soon as the bill had become law. When a case involving the legality of these transmitted interests was brought before Judge Marshall in the Supreme Court, he decided that the act nullifying the original act was unconstitutional, because it impaired the sacredness of a contract. Randolph refused as a member of Congress to give the slightest countenance to the compromise which was then proposed, and he lashed its provisions with an energy and bitterness unsurpassed even in the history of his own use of vituperative words. Never in that body had there been heard language of denunciation so pungent, so incisive, and so excoriating; nor was the indignant and passionate speaker checked in his philippic by the recollection that the compromise suggested had been approved, not only by a formal commission—which included in its membership such men as Gallatin and Madison—but also by the Committee on Claims of the House. His virulent condemnation, indeed, was indirectly a reflection on the uprightness of these men as well as on that of all who entertained the same view; and there were many persons who did.

However much these speeches may have confirmed his reputation as a vigilant, outspoken, and uncompromising up-

holder of inflexible integrity in the public service, they were too little in harmony with the exigencies of practical politics to win political favor with all the influential members of his own party. Gideon Granger, for instance, who had sunk deep in the muck of the Yazoo claims, although at the time a member of the cabinet, had been one of the principal objects of his wrath; and this besmirched official soon began a campaign in the New England States in advocacy of Randolph's removal from the leadership of the House.

Randolph soon appeared in another cause which aroused his indignation almost to the white heat which it had reached about the Yazoo scandal. This was the impeachment of Samuel Chase. The Federalists, with some reason, were convinced that this was an indirect scheme to drive Marshall and his associates from the bench of the Supreme Court. Randolph was the chief manager in this trial, over which Vice-President Aaron Burr, who had recently killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, presided "with the dignity and impartiality of an angel," it was said at the time, "but with the vigor of a devil." The array of counsel who had been retained for the defense of the accused was superior in ability to its opponents as a whole, although these antagonists included Randolph himself, who, however, was not a lawyer by profession or training. But it was he who took the leading part in the attack. The bitter reflections on his several speeches on this occasion by the Federalists reveal at least the galling sharpness of those utterances. "An outrageous, infuriated declamation," remarks one of these partisans in his description of the scene, "which might have done honor to Marat or Robespierre." "Replete with invective and even vulgarity," said another.

Brilliant as the speeches were, the general impression was that they were unequal to the displays from the same tongue in the course of previous Congresses. At least they failed to accomplish their main purpose, which was Chase's conviction. The whole responsibility for the miscarriage of the trial fell on Randolph as the chief manager, and this was a fact that was particularly agreeable to aspiring members of

his party, like Madison, who were apprehensive lest he should become a rival for the presidential nomination. A rupture between him and President Jefferson was now developing, and in 1806 it had so far grown to a head that Randolph broke out in an attack on the administration in the course of a debate in Congress.

During the same session he spoke without disguise of his contempt for Madison's recent dissertation on the rights of neutrals. After holding up the pamphlet so as to be seen by his colleagues, he dashed it in derision to the floor. "That book will live," remarked Congressman Smilie aloud to him from his seat, "when you and I, in our mortal part, will be in ashes." Smilie was an old man. Grasping this fact, Randolph made instant use of the chance which it gave of turning the table on him. "In an oracular saw," exclaimed he to the House, "my friend has pronounced that this book will live when he, and I too, Sirs, are laid in our graves. But when he considers his own age, and the frailty of my constitution, he will confess that he has allowed but a short span for the existence of his favorite work."

Under the nom de plume of *Decius*, Randolph wrote at this time a series of political letters remarkable, like every other production of his tongue or pen, for their polish, pungency, and eloquence. They were taken as foreshadowing his defection from the Democratic party, an act that would create a schism in its ranks. The first division would come between the Northern and Southern members of that party in Congress; and Randolph was expected to lead the Southern. "His assaults," said a contemporary, "have been general or personal as best suited his purpose; and in some of his philippics, the gall of his heart was poured forth without mixture." The full stress of it fell on the mouthpieces of the administration in the House, and on numerous occasions they seem to have been reduced to silence. In the end so many members of his party in that body were estranged from him that he lost his post as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and with it the leadership of the lower chamber. "Jefferson and Madison," says George

Tucker, in his biography of the former, "had seen enough of Mr. Randolph to know that his defects of temper rendered him unfit for such a situation—that he could neither be expected to yield implicit obedience to the views of those who employed him, nor be capable of the address, or patient research, or temperate logic, for effecting them."

Gallatin was perhaps right in saying that Randolph's eccentricities of speech and conduct had destroyed his influence, but these eccentricities did not take the form of disloyalty to the reserved rights of the states by his approving a loose interpretation of the Federal Constitution. Many of his associates in the Republican party were drifting into principles even more heretical than Federalism. Observation of this fact led him in 1805 to labor for the choice of Monroe as the successor to Jefferson in the presidential chair. He was confident that Monroe would pull the government ship back into the channel in which it had been launched after the defeat of the Federalists.

At this time Randolph enjoyed a high degree of popularity in Virginia. This was evidenced by the public approval there when he was named the foreman of the grand jury selected to try Burr on the charge of treason.

As he never failed in his private life to resent an insult, so in his public he was not disposed to regard with indifference any encroachment on his country's rights by foreign nations. No one expressed more vehement indignation than he did when the *Chesapeake* was overhauled by an English man-of-war. He was in favor of a special session of Congress to demand the recall of the American minister at the court of St. James and to insist upon an apology for the insult through a British envoy sent to the United States for the single purpose of delivering it. Should this atonement be refused, then the country was to be put in a state of defense, and Canada overrun by an American army.

The step taken by Jefferson for redress of this wrong and others of a like nature which, in the struggle going on between France and England, soon followed, was to "inhibit the departure of American vessels from their home ports."

Randolph followed this up by submitting in the House a resolution that called for an embargo on all American shipping at that time anchored in American waters or expected soon to arrive there. But a Senate bill for a more general and permanent policy of the like character was accepted by the House in its place. This bill expressly forbade all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Although Randolph's resolution seemed to be in general harmony with the Senate bill, he opposed the passage of the latter with every resource in the way of knowledge, wit, and sarcasm at his command. He disclaimed that he was influenced by mere caprice in taking what appeared to be such a contradictory position, but it is difficult to discover a good reason for his approval of the one measure and his disapproval of the other, as in their fundamental purposes the difference between them was that which is supposed to exist between tweedledum and tweedledee.

The objection to the embargo, as brought out by its actual operation, was that the United States in adopting it abandoned the ocean to the commerce and transportation of Great Britain, in which category the products and carrying trade of the West Indies were especially profitable. The result was summed up by Randolph when he said, "Never has there been any Administration which went out of office and left the nation in so deplorable and calamitous a state as the last." "Like Achilles' wrath," he added, "the embargo was the source of our Iliad of Woes." In March, 1810, the man who had expressed himself almost violently in favor, if necessary, of retaliating by force of arms on Great Britain for the outrage on the *Chesapeake*, brought in a resolution that called for the reduction of the naval and military establishments of the United States, on the ground that the Atlantic Ocean was "wide and deep enough to keep off any immediate danger to our territory." It was in harmony with this sentiment that he was led to oppose the declaration of war in 1812, towards which the country had been drifting during several years, in spite of the timid and cautious efforts of both Jefferson and Madison to stave it off.

There were in the Twelfth Congress several young members of extraordinary talent and audacity—among them, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun—who, reflecting the feeling of the people at large, regarded submission to further English assaults on American rights with an indignation that was determined no longer to brook these outrages quietly. The national spirit, as might have been anticipated, had grown very perceptibly stronger since Randolph first entered the House. The older representatives in Congress could no longer contend successfully for the incumbency of its offices; Clay, and not Macon, was elected Speaker; and he soon organized the committees in a way to ensure the supremacy of the war party in that body. Randolph's resolution, which declared that hostilities with Great Britain would be inexpedient, was thrown out. What was worse, his course did not receive his constituents' approval, and in 1813, when the conflict was in full headway, he was defeated for reëlection by John W. Eppes. For the first time in his political career he now found himself in sympathy with his former colleagues from New England, who detested the war as keenly as he did. He became a frequent correspondent of Quincy, Lloyd, and Otis, with whom previously he had shared no opinion in common; but he had only words of warning when a report reached him that there was a faction in the state of John Adams which was seriously considering the expediency of seceding.

By the opening of the year 1815, the opposition in his district to his return to public life, which had shown itself so successfully two years before, had blown over, and he was reëlected to his former seat in Congress. The impression soon spread that his two years of "rustication" had given his tongue a still sharper edge. This was first disclosed in the indignation that he expressed over his party's further departure from the path of the old Republican principles, to which he himself still clung with undiminished loyalty. The change in policy was disclosed in such measures as Calhoun's bill to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States. That distinguished statesman, too, was winking per-

ceptibly about the same time at protection, which Clay was to embody in his American system. Randolph, with all his customary incisiveness and sarcasm, combatted the proposal to adopt such a policy, because he thought that it would benefit the interests of the Northern manufacturers alone. "The cultivators, the patriot drudges of the other orders of society," he exclaimed in Congress, "are now waiting for your resolution, for on you it depends whether they shall be left further unhurt, or be, like those in Europe, reduced by gradation, and subjected to another squeeze from the hard grasp of power."

With unbridled indignation he denounced the slave traffic in the District of Columbia. "Not even excepting the coast of Africa," he said, "was there so great and so infamous a slave market as in the metropolis."

In 1817 his health gave away, and in a wretched state of mind and body he withdrew from Congress, but returned to it in 1819, only to complain at first of his personal isolation. "Once the object of proscription, I am become," he said, "one of indifference to all around me." But this despondency soon passed after he had thrown himself into the violent debates that arose in the wrangle over the admission of Missouri to statehood, in which the question of Maine's admission was also involved. The upshot of the controversy was the admission of Maine as a free state and of Missouri as a slave state, and the exclusion of the institution of slavery from all that part of the original Louisiana territory situated north of the 36° 30′ line. Randolph looked upon the compromise with intense detestation, and he expressed his hostility to its terms with such extraordinary keenness and power that Henry Clay, reviewing the events of the year long afterwards, said that Randolph's course "came near shaking the Union to the centre, and desolating this fair land." Indeed, so stubborn was his spirit in the contest that he announced he would "cavil on the ninetieth part of a hair," if anything was to be gained thereby, "in his defense of the dearest interests, the life blood, of the Southern States." The determination and fearlessness which he exhib-

ited in this great controversy restored him to popularity with his constituents. "Like the long waists of our mothers," he wrote jocularly to a friend, "I really believe I am growing, if not generally, at least somewhat, in fashion."

In order to recover from the bad effects of the strain to which he had exposed both his physical and his mental powers in the course of these struggles in Congress, he made in the spring of 1822 his first visit to Europe. He spent the whole of the summer and early autumn in a tour of England and during its course was received with flattering attentions by members of the gentry and nobility, who, as was reported by a friend, were "delighted with his extraordinary conversational powers" and perhaps amused by his eccentricities. On the occasion of his delivering a public speech, the *London Times* referred with approval to his "Republican simplicity of manner, and his easy and unaffected address."

On his return to Congress, under the influence of his unaltered devotion to the principles of the old Republican party, he criticized the proposal to make a survey of the whole country, with a view to the establishment, by the Federal Government, of a national system of roads and canals. This system was favored by President Monroe, who, like Jefferson and Madison, but unlike Randolph, had weakened in fidelity to the doctrine of States' Rights under the pressure of practical exigency. Randolph thought that with such a power as this granted to it the central government would have a precedent for the abolition of slavery by act of Congress. The correctness of this opinion was so clearly perceived in the South that he became the accepted leader of the extreme States' Rights wing; but while he was endeavoring to uphold this doctrine in Congress, Marshall, on the Supreme Bench, by decisions like *Gibbons* v. *Ogden*, was very successfully undermining its foundation.

Not long afterwards Randolph was elected to the Senate to fill an unexpired term. He had hardly taken his seat when he disclosed his hostile attitude towards the administration of John Quincy Adams by exclaiming, "I bore some humble part in putting down the dynasty of John the First, and

by the Grace of God, I hope to aid in putting down the dynasty of John the Second." He despised the younger Adams as a "turncoat Federalist." "The cub," he declared, "was a greater bear than the old one." It was in the course of a speech in which he had assailed the administration with a bitterness remarkable even on his vituperative and merciless lips, that he compared Clay's acceptance of the President's invitation to become secretary of state to the "coalition of Blifil and Black George, the combination of the Puritan with the blackleg." Such pungent malediction could hardly have been used by Randolph unless his design at bottom had been to provoke Clay to a duel; and if this was really his purpose, he was successful in attaining it.

The conduct of the two men immediately after Mr. Clay's last harmless shot was fired gives a Pickwickian flavor to the whole scene. We learn from Senator Benton, who was present, that when Randolph had discharged his pistol into the air, "he advanced and tendered his hand to Clay. Clay, in the same spirit, met him half-way, and the two shook hands. Randolph, whose coat skirt had been pierced by Clay's bullet very near the hip said jocosely, 'You owe me a coat, Mr. Clay,' and Clay promptly and very happily replied, 'I am glad the debt is no greater.' " As Randolph was at this time as thin as the proverbial wafer or rail, he was perhaps in less danger than Clay of being winged by his antagonist. Mr. Benton, in commenting on the encounter, remarked with a suppressed sigh of regret, "It was about the last high-toned duel that I have ever witnessed, and among the highest-toned that I have ever witnessed."

In the summer of 1826 Randolph made his second visit to England, where he was an object of constant social attention. If, with his skeleton figure and delicate feminine face, he had appeared often in the costume that he wore at a public dinner in Liverpool, to which he was invited, it would have been natural had the public impression of the man been rather startling in its character. "He was dressed," we are told, "in a blue coat, yellow silk neckcloth, and blue trousers." Such a costume, had he been seen in it in southside

Virginia, would have raised a still greater sensation among his constituents and caused every horse in his district to break his bridle.

When his term in the Senate drew to a close, he offered himself as a candidate for that office to the legislature, but was defeated by John Tyler. He faced his failure with a dignity and calmness that disconcerted his enemies, who had predicted that he would resign at once in a passion. When Tyler arrived in Washington to take possession of his seat, Randolph was one of the first to call on him. He had already congratulated his successful rival at a race meeting near Richmond. "How is your Excellency?" he had said on that occasion as he advanced to speak to Tyler, "and when I say 'your Excellency,' I mean your Excellency." In April, 1827, he was reëlected to the House from his old district. Here he quickly resumed his position of influence, and it was largely due to his aggressive speeches that Adams was balked in his aspiration to succeed himself. Randolph endeavored by every resource at hand to belittle the President and to exalt Andrew Jackson, who also was lying in wait to unhorse their common opponent.

After Old Hickory's election to the presidency in 1828, Randolph, deeply impaired in health and weary in spirit, withdrew from Congress; nor was he ever afterwards a candidate for membership in that body, the scene of his most brilliant displays of oratorical and debating power. In later years he occupied but two public positions of importance. He was elected to a seat in the Convention which assembled in Richmond in 1829 for the purpose of revising the constitution of Virginia, in force since 1776. Here he was associated for the last time with the men who had in his own day played a great rôle in the history of the nation. James Madison, James Monroe, and John Marshall were members and took part with him in the discussions. The subordinate members were hardly less distinguished—John Tyler, Tazewell, Upshur, Giles, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, and Philip P. Barbour. In that splendid assemblage of all the talents in Virginia he more than sustained his great reputation. "The

boldest and most impassioned speakers present," said a well-known journalist, who recorded the proceedings of the Convention, "caught inspiration from his recognition. He was like the musical director in the midst of an immense orchestra: the players and the instruments seemed to obey the slightest motion of his hand."

Randolph's public life closed with the mission to Russia, to which he was appointed by President Jackson. For such a post he was singularly unfitted by the state of his health as well as by a temper too candid and too impetuous for diplomatic service, and also by a cadaverous appearance and an eccentric deportment that were well calculated, in a formal foreign court, to excite amusement, if not derision, however successfully suppressed out of deference to his office and country. The ultimate effect of the sojourn at the capital of the czars on his frame was fatal. "This Russian campaign," he asserted afterwards, "has been a Pultowa or Beresina to me."

In 1833 he breathed his last in Philadelphia while en route to England in the hope that by a sea voyage he would be able to restore or at least to improve his health. Not many hours before he died, the physician in attendance at his bedside asked him how long he had been sick. "I have been sick all my life," was the mournful reply. Among the last utterances of his lips was the word "remorse." His body was removed to Roanoke, and there, in the shadow of a grove which had protected his roof tree, it was buried, only to be disinterred and removed many years later to the beautiful Hollywood cemetery in Richmond where it now reposes.

Chapter VIII

GENERAL SAMUEL HOUSTON

General Houston sprang from ancestors who were among the first to raise the battle cry of "God and liberty" when the earliest fires of the Reformation were lighted among the bleak hills of Scotland. Members of a second generation helped to drive off the Papist army before the walls of Londonderry; and the members of a third defended the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia against Indian marauders.

The religious faith of the fathers had not been discarded or neglected by the descendants in these successive emigrations. The sternness of their principles after their settlement in the New World had colored their daily thought just as deeply as the same principles had colored the thought of their forebears who had sat beneath the pulpit of the reformer, Knox, or repelled the Popish besiegers from the hard-pressed Irish city. The vicissitudes through which they had passed had only intensified their loyalty to their religious convictions and converted their spiritual sinews into sinews of iron. With their unshakable confidence in a personal Providence, associated with their native firmness and self-reliance of character, they were fully armed to meet and overcome the perils which confronted all the pioneers who had built their roofs along the slopes of the Alleghenies. They had been accustomed to fighting in the immemorial nursery of their people beyond the Atlantic; and the experience of centuries there had trained them for the warfare which they were compelled to wage with the savages in order

to retain the hearths that sheltered their families in the wilderness. Houston's mother shared the blood and faith of his father. Both were descended from the same ancestral stock; the social traditions of both were precisely the same; the spirit which was exhibited by each of them did not differ at all from that of the other. The wife was quite as capable of protecting herself in an emergency as the husband. She, too, was afraid of nothing.

It was in the very heart of the Scotch-Irish colony in Rockbridge County, Virginia, and almost in the shadow of its most famous church edifice at Timber Ridge, that she gave birth to her celebrated son, who, like his ancestors, was destined to wander far from his native mountains. His father had served with usefulness and even with distinction as a Revolutionary soldier, and to the end of his life retained his military taste. This he transmitted to his son, who also inherited from him a stalwart frame, imposing manners, and a courage which peril seemed only to increase. But no paternal fortune descended to that son. As a boy he was employed all his time in the field during the seasons of sowing, cultivating, and reaping. The short period of winter was the only interval left to him to master even the rudimentary studies. It has been said of him that in his youth he never enjoyed a longer period of regular tuition than six months altogether, but somehow he acquired sufficient knowledge to enable him to read, write, and cipher.

When Houston was in his thirteenth year, his father died. There were now nine children dependent upon their widowed mother for guidance or support. She soon decided to abandon the farm in Rockbridge and to emigrate to the fertile valley of the Tennessee River. Nor was she deterred from taking this adventurous step by the fact that this stream formed the boundary line between the occupied lands of the pioneers and the hunting grounds of the powerful tribe of Cherokee Indians. The older sons and daughters were put to work to prepare the land for tillage, and the youthful Sam followed their example.

But an ambition to obtain an education took possession

of his mind. He managed by hook or crook to get admission, during a short period, to a neighboring academy of some local reputation, and at the same time he enlarged his information further by reading during his few hours of leisure, limited to the hours of night. It was natural that to a boy of his enterprising and resolute temper, as was so fully disclosed in his after career, Pope's translation of the *Iliad* should have made a stirring and inspiring appeal; and he is said to have so far mastered its couplets as to be able to repeat the greater part of the poem from memory. His delight in the contents of this volume led him to read translations of other Latin and Grecian classics, until his imagination became inflamed by what he learned of the heroic actions of the ancient peoples.

He seems in the end to have acquired a distaste for the duties of the farm, but evidently found the work of a clerk in a neighboring store still more repugnant to his real aspirations, for he soon deserted the countinghouse and stole away without permission to the nearest Cherokee village. When his whereabouts was ultimately discovered, he met his brothers' reproaches by replying bitterly, "I prefer measuring deer tracks to tape. I like the wild liberty of the redmen better than the tyranny of my own brothers. If I cannot study Latin in the Academy, I can at least read a translation from the Greek in the woods and read it in peace." He refused to abandon his wigwam and his tawny companions, and in his old age he was heard to assert that he could never forget the wild charm of the hours which he had passed in the primeval forest during this period of his youth. He acquired by the hardening effect of this life on his frame not only a stock of health which continued unexhausted almost to the end, but also a knowledge of Indian character that served his purpose well in subsequent scenes of danger or diplomacy.

In his eighteenth year he withdrew from the Indian village, not, apparently, because he had grown weary of its wild associations, but because he had created a debt against himself by making presents to his Indian friends, which he

wished to pay. He hired a small building and offered to teach the children of the neighborhood their letters. His fee for tuition was to be settled partly in corn, partly in cotton cloth, and partly in money. So soon as his obligation had been discharged, he closed the door of his schoolhouse. This was in 1813, the second year of the war between England and the United States.

While debating the question of how to support himself, he was solicited by a recruiting squad to become a common soldier. His mother, alone among his kin, seems to have approved his decision to join the army. Her farewell words to him, if report be correct, had a thoroughly Roman ring, "I had rather all my sons should fill one honorable grave than that one of them should turn his back to save his life. Remember too that, while the door of my cottage is open to brave men, it is eternally shut against cowards." There was no reason for this solemn warning. That door would never have been closed to Houston, if the condition of his crossing its threshold was to be the display of courage, for courage was a virtue which he possessed to an abnormal degree.

First he was promoted to the rank of sergeant and a short time afterwards to that of ensign.

The Creeks of the Southwest had by this time decided to make a last stand against the ever encroaching whites at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa. Here they concentrated a force of one thousand warriors, whose position, except in front, was protected by the coil of the river; and in front, a massive breastwork made up of three tiers of heavy pine logs had been erected by them to form a barrier. General Andrew Jackson, on arriving in the neighborhood of this fortification with his seasoned frontiersmen, posted a line of troops around the sides of the bend. These troops included a large body of friendly Cherokees who had joined the American army under the influence of their implacable hatred of the Creeks. The main part of that army was stationed directly in front of the wide opening in the Horseshoe. Through this opening, the breastwork was to be seen.

While the small cannon were vainly hurling balls into the

heavy timbers of this fortification, the companies under Captain Russell's command, having carried off the enemy's canoes, crossed the river in a body, set fire to the wigwams at the back of the breastwork, and then moved boldly forward to attack its defenders. This was the signal for an assault by the main force in front. In the very van of the onrushing and hurrahing troops, Ensign Houston was to be seen at the head of his company. He was the first on that side of the field to scale the barrier, and in doing so he received in his thigh a deep wound from an arrow. As the enemy recoiled before the onset, Houston, who had striven hard to remove the arrow with his own hand, failed to do so and called upon his lieutenant for assistance. Twice this young officer tugged with all his might at the imbedded weapon. "Try a third time," exclaimed the wounded man, "and if you don't succeed, I will smite you to the earth." A desperate pull followed, and the arrow was withdrawn, after dreadful lacerations of the flesh. The bleeding hole was hastily salved by the surgeon, and hardly had this been done, when Houston, in spite of an order from General Jackson himself to remain inactive, rushed off to join his fighting comrades and soon thrust his way to their front.

The Indians resisted with a spirit born of despair, but in spite of the odds against them, which became more perceptible with each successive moment, not a warrior offered to surrender, and not one threw down his weapon and fled. The survivors only gathered more closely around their prophets and only the more loudly raised their war cries of defiance.

One part of the breastwork formed a small fort in itself, and here a band of Creeks made a determined stand. Only a direct assault could dislodge them, and before the flash of their rifles every attacker was likely to go down. Volunteers were called for, but so desperate was the adventure that only Houston came forward. Before he had ascertained that any of his company would obey his order to follow him, he rushed towards the fort. His courage spurred his men on to imitate his action, but before they could reach the object of

attack, he was dangerously wounded in the shoulder. They then halted, hesitated, and retreated; and he, in turn, was forced to drag himself to the rear. The fort was finally destroyed by torch.

It was several weeks before Houston could be taken up from his bed and removed. A horse litter was then prepared, on which he was slowly borne through the forests to his mother's home in Tennessee. His escort did not expect him to survive to complete the journey. When he was carried into the house, so altered was his appearance that his mother afterwards said that she recognized him only by his eyes. When he recovered, he was compelled to travel as far as New Orleans to rejoin his regiment. In the company of two young men, one of whom many years later on became a governor of Louisiana, he voyaged down the Mississippi in a small skiff, which in spite of its frailty brought them safely, although after many adventures, to their destination. Here he had to submit to a second operation on his arm. This left him again in so weak a state that his duties were limited to office work. Ultimately, Houston resigned his lieutenancy and began to study for admission to the bar. He was now in his twenty-fifth year. His instructor told him that he could hope to obtain his license only after eighteen months of preparation, but he was so industrious that at the end of six months he passed all the examinations with distinction.

So deep was the impression that his sturdy character and his professional attainments soon made on the people of the district in which he settled that they elected him to the office of commonwealth's attorney. But he did not abandon his soldierly tastes altogether—for a time he filled the post of adjutant general of the state, which was not obstructive of his active practice; and subsequently he was chosen a major general of the Tennessee militia. His ambition was still not satisfied. In 1823 he was elected to a seat in Congress without opposition. Four years later—so high was the reputation which he had won for ability, courage, and integrity—he was elevated to the office of governor by the almost unanimous voice of the people. It is said that there

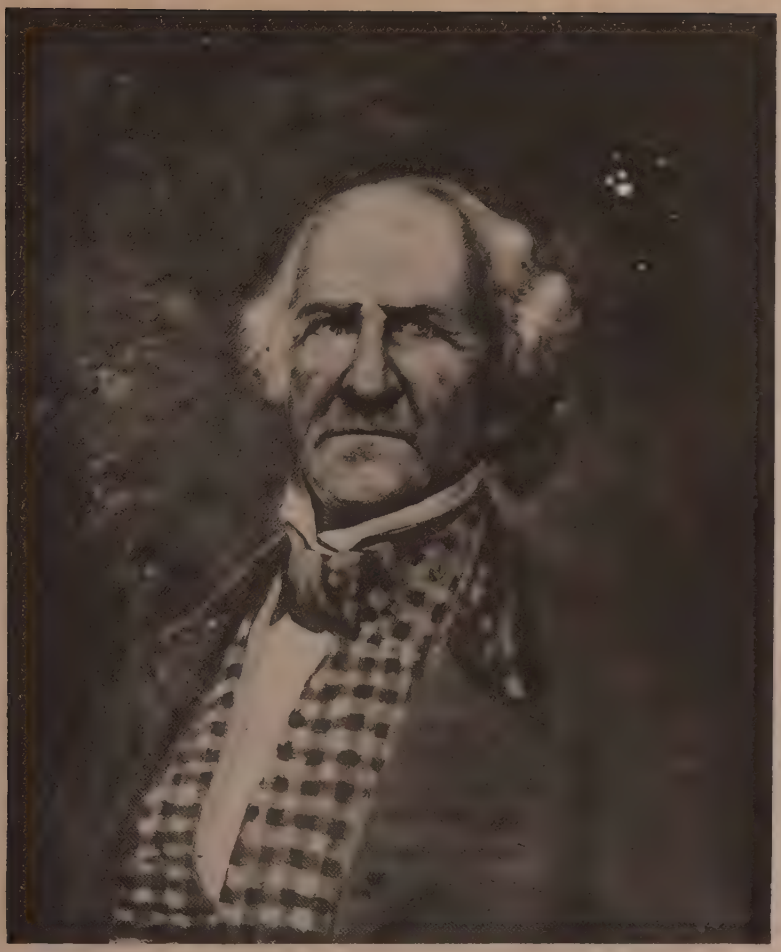

PLATE IX. *From a portrait by J. E. Jenkins in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. Used by courtesy of the Governor of Virginia. Photo Cook.*

GENERAL SAMUEL HOUSTON

was not an opponent of his administration in the legislature that convened after his inauguration.

An unhappy marriage with a woman far younger than himself ended in a separation that threw him into such a morbid state of mind, owing to the scandalous gossip following it, that he resigned the office of governor and took refuge with his Indian foster father, who with his tribe had retired to a reservation in Arkansas. Houston was now only thirty-five years of age and in the flush of his physical vigor. On his arrival at his destination on the Western Plains, the aged chief greeted him warmly. "My wigwam is yours," he said simply, "my home is yours; my people are yours—rest with us here." During the ensuing three years Houston led the primitive life of the American savage, the life of the forest and the prairie, of the horseback and the tomahawk. He sat by the council fires of his hosts; he took part with them in the pursuit of antelope and buffalo; he strove for victory in their rude games; and endured with equal stoicism all the vicissitudes of the roughest weather. He is reported to have said afterwards that during an intercourse of many years with the redmen, he had never been betrayed or deceived by them. Probably no public man of that day was so familiar with Indian character as he was; not one perhaps was so well informed as to Indian habits; and certainly none sympathized more heartily with the members of that race on account of the wrongs which had been done them.

But a far more dramatic chapter in Houston's career was now impending. In 1832 he was sent by President Jackson on a secret mission to the Comanches to assure a peaceful reception for the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks when those tribes should be removed to their new reservations beyond the Mississippi. At Nacogdoches in Texas, then Mexican territory, he was warmly solicited by the citizens of American birth to establish his home there and become a candidate for a seat in the convention which was soon to be held. This was expected to be the first step towards the expulsion of the Mexicans, and all the people originally from the United States were anxious to secure Houston's leader-

ship, for they knew that he was not only an experienced public man, but also a veteran soldier. He was accordingly elected as a delegate to the convention, which was the first body of the kind composed of persons of English descent to assemble within the limits of the Mexican Republic. It met at San Felipe, drafted a constitution, and dispatched commissioners to the city of Mexico to petition for admission to the circle of the Mexican states. Santa Anna, however, was now conspiring to set up a military despotism at the capital, with ample power to control the entire country. Stephen Austin was the only one of the commissioners to arrive at his destination, and his reception did not encourage him. As he was returning home in disappointment, he was seized and thrown into prison. This was directly repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution of 1824, which had been formally and solemnly granted for the protection of the American colonists who had planted themselves in Texas. The news of his arrest quickly spread through the country and created an emotion of keen resentment. So violent did the excitement become that Houston found difficulty in allaying it. He was anxious that the immigrants should not plunge into a war with Mexico until they were prepared to carry it through successfully. The people were sweating under a galling burden of taxation, and they also found the Mexican local officers tyrannical and corrupt. They had been deprived of a clear title to their lands and, what was worse, forced to deliver up all the arms in their possession, which left their families at the mercy of the murderous raids of the Indians.

The struggle for independence began at Gonzales when the Mexican soldiers attempted to take from the people a cannon which had been used to keep at bay the red-handed Comanches. Austin hurried to that city and assumed command of the men, who, outraged by this act, had rushed thither to form an organized force. Thence the call to arms ran wild, like a prairie fire, throughout western Texas, and the foreign population even in the less exposed eastern region were equally aroused when the news of the revolt was

received. Houston was promptly chosen General of a large district lying in the zone of danger. Austin withdrew to Bexar at the head of eight hundred well-equipped troops, and here Houston with a large escort quickly joined him. Austin was eager for that officer to take over the supreme command, but this the latter with characteristic generosity positively refused to do.

Houston was a member of the council that framed a formal statement calling on all Mexicans to observe the Constitution of 1824; and he also assisted in drawing up the regulations for the administration of the affairs of the province occupied by the American colonists. He scotched an attempt to issue a declaration of independence, as he thought that this step would be harmful at that time. A provisional declaration by his advice was substituted for it. During these fateful hours his dress consisted of a pair of buckskin breeches and a Mexican blanket. "I thank God," said General Andrew Jackson, when he heard of this costume, "that there is one man at least in Texas who was made by the Almighty, and not by the tailor."

The Council adjourned, after appointing Houston commander in chief of all the Texas armies; and with his usual energy and promptness he delayed not one minute to take the necessary civil as well as military steps to organize an efficient force. Commissioners of reputation were named to negotiate a loan in the United States with which to provide the money needed for equipping the five thousand volunteers who had been called for by public proclamation. There were already a few companies in existence. These had recently captured Bexar and seized its Alamo. A victory of some importance, too, had been won at the Mission Conception by Colonels Fannin and Bowie. Disciplined soldiers from the United States began now to come in. Among the first were troops from New Orleans and Mobile, which soon after their arrival determined to make a raid against Matamoras. They were to be joined at the Mission Refugio by additional volunteers from Georgia and Alabama. Here Houston was expected to assume formal command. He reached Goliad in

January, 1836, and knowing that the garrison in the Alamo at San Antonio was too small to hold it permanently, he ordered Colonels Bowie and Bonham to march to that city and destroy the fort; and when this had been accomplished, they were to fall back to Gonzales, which formed the main point in the general line of defense that had been adopted.

Houston firmly refused to give his approval to the proposed expedition against Matamoras. There was a distance of several hundred miles to be traversed, he said, and the rations on hand were not sufficient to feed during three days a force of seven hundred men, the number enrolled for the attack. While engaged in pointing out these insuperable obstacles, he was informed that he had been superseded in command. Should he bow to this order issued by a council hostile to him, or should he defy it? He started at once with a small escort for San Felipe, and after reporting his arrival to the acting governor there, he decided to go on and visit the Cherokee nation. During his stay with this tribe, he was told that he had been elected a member of the convention which had been arranged to meet on the following first of March, 1836, and here, on the second day of the same month, while he himself was present and an active participant in the proceedings, the declaration of Texas' independence was drafted, signed, and published. Hardly had this bold position been taken by Houston and his compatriots, when a message was received from Colonel Travis, in command of the Alamo at San Antonio, that the fortress was cut off, and if reinforcements were not hurried forward, the garrison would be compelled to surrender. Houston had anticipated this upshot, but his order to Travis to blow up the building and retreat had been silently ignored.

He now resigned the office of commander in chief, not only because he was offended by the contempt shown for his orders by the council in general control of affairs at the moment, but also because the provisional government, which had appointed him, had now passed out of existence. But so strong was his hold on the respect of the people at large that the convention was constrained to reëlect him to his original

post at the head of the army. There was a popular conviction that his services were indispensable to success, and the fear arose that on account of his irritation over his mistreatment, he would refuse to accept the office. Conscious of the crowding dangers of the hour, Houston was too brave and patriotic a soldier to allow himself to be influenced by such a feeling.

On the sixth of March a second message was received from Colonel Travis, which described his situation at the Alamo as desperate. A resolution was offered in the convention that its members should arm and march in a body at once to his rescue. Houston stoutly objected to this proposal as practically dispersing the only organized government in the Republic. He promised that he would lead in person to the Alamo the small body of militia which still remained under arms. Starting out with an escort of four men for San Antonio, he paused at the end of a few days' journey to listen for the sound of the sunrise gun which he knew was always fired from the ramparts of the fort, but no echo of its explosion could be heard when the hour arrived for the gun to be set off. Houston was convinced that the Alamo had fallen, and that a further advance would be to expose himself and his men to certain death. But he did not turn back until he had written a statesmanlike letter to the convention to urge that body to adopt a resolution declaring that Texas had formed a part of Louisiana when the treaty of 1803 was signed and was, therefore, still an integral division of the territory of the United States. If the American Government could be persuaded that such had been the fact and take over the whole region, the impending conflict with Mexico would be staved off indefinitely. But his suggestion failed to make the impression which he expected.

On the tenth of March Houston arrived at Gonzales, where a detachment of about four hundred troops was stationed. He quickly sent an order to Colonel Fannin, encamped at Goliad, to fall back, as the Alamo had been captured. Fannin's force united to that of Houston would make up an army of nine hundred men. Fannin at first paid no

attention to this instruction, and the only reply which he afterwards returned to it was that he had thrown up breastworks and proposed to hold his ground. At this time he was really surrounded. The information was brought to Houston that an army of five thousand Mexicans was approaching his own position. As he had behind him only a few hundred soldiers, he retreated to the Colorado. Here, while the little force were in a state of deep depression, a messenger burst into the camp with the news that Colonel Fannin and his entire regiment at Goliad had been massacred.

Houston was now taxed to the limit of his capacity to hold together his panic-stricken troops, and, but for his ingenuity in discrediting the messenger, they would have dispersed. As it was, their alarm soon subsided. The army, still intact, retired in the direction of the Brazos and finally halted on an island in that river. The enemy were now stationed in force at San Felipe. Houston could muster only five hundred and twenty men. It was soon learned that the Mexicans were advancing upon his position in three divisions, one of which was under the command of Santa Anna himself. It was the latter division that Houston determined to strike. His army had now grown to about eight hundred men, with a train of two pieces of artillery. As they marched across the boggy prairie, it required the combined strength of all to push forward the guns and wagons, and in this act Houston participated on an equality with the commonest soldier in the ranks.

On the night of April 16 all slept on the open prairie under the canopy of the sky. The same experience was repeated the ensuing night. At the end of the third day, Houston and his men found themselves within a few miles of Harrisburg, where they expected to come up with the army of Santa Anna, which was known to be in advance of the other divisions of the Mexican forces. A conference was held by Houston and General Rusk, the Secretary of War of the Texas Republic. "We need not talk," said the former when they met. "You think we ought to fight and I think so too." Their aim was now to find Santa Anna and his troops and

Sam Houston

PLATE X. *From an old engraving, after a daguerreotype by B. P. Page, Washington, D. C. Fridenberg Galleries.*

GENERAL SAMUEL HOUSTON

attack them.

The next day the Texas army was again on the march. Commander and private alike felt that now was the hour to strike and overwhelm the enemy, and so confident of victory were they as a body that Houston expressed the conviction of all when he said, "We go to conquest." "Remember the Alamo" was the watchword that he gave out in a passionate speech which he delivered to the assembled forces. "Remember the Alamo," rang across the prairie as the words were taken up with a shout by the rank and file. Houston was now making straight for the San Jacinto River, and on arriving there he quietly sat down to await the coming up of the enemy. In a short time the Mexican van appeared, but after skirmishing with the Texan troops, retired to the shore of the Bay of San Jacinto, a short distance away. Houston did not pursue. "Tomorrow," he said, "I will conquer, slaughter, and put to flight the entire Mexican army, and it shall not cost me a dozen of my brave soldiers."

On the following day, again with the war cry, "Remember the Alamo," the Texan army of nine hundred men made a rush for the Mexican trenches defended by a force of eighteen hundred. Houston on horseback led the center. They reserved their fire until they were upon the Mexican works, when a struggle hand-to-hand ensued. The Texans, having emptied their muskets and pistols and broken the stocks on the heads of the foe, began slashing their way through the opposing ranks with their bowie knives. It was not long before the battle became a slaughter, as Houston had predicted. All the enemy who had the strength to escape fled from the field, followed by Santa Anna. Thus ended the last attempt to conquer the Texan Republic. Its independence was won in one of the most complete and sanguinary victories recorded in either ancient or modern history. In the course of the battle Houston had been severely wounded. Subsequently Santa Anna was captured, and although he was really responsible for the massacres at the Alamo and Goliad and should have been shot, yet the Texan commander magnanimously absolved him and protected his

life from the assassin. For this moderation he was generally commended both in the United States and in Europe.

A government ad interim was soon organized, and not long afterwards writs were issued for the election of a permanent president. Houston was urged to permit his name to be used as a candidate for the office, but he was anxious to retire from public life and at first turned a deaf ear to the popular petition. But a few days before the day of election arrived, he yielded to the general solicitation simply because he was convinced that the young republic could endure only with a circle of men in power who would show an impartial attitude in directing its affairs.

A vituperative canvass was in progress at this time between two candidates, General Austin and former Governor Smith, which, whatever the decision at the polls, foreshadowed an outrageously partisan administration that would almost certainly bring on a civil war. Houston was right in thinking that he alone could conduct the affairs of the new government in a way that would win the confidence of all the people. His splendid services in the recent military campaign, added to the reputation for unselfish and patient patriotism which he had always enjoyed, made him the supremely trustworthy figure of the hour. His character alone was a guarantee against chaos. His consent to run for the presidency aroused enthusiasm throughout the country, and he was elected to the office by acclamation. The independence of the Republic had not yet been recognized by the United States—this did not occur until March, 1837—but with Houston's inauguration in 1836, Texas took its place in the family of nations. Like Washington before him, he had won the freedom of his people by the use of his sword; and now, like the American hero, he was also to give shape and vigor to the new government by his wisdom as a ruler.

When he was chosen president, the voters had declared by a great majority that they were in favor of the annexation of Texas to the United States, but it was well known at the time that reasons growing out of the controversy at Washington over the extension of slavery might block in-

definitely the admission of the new Republic to the sisterhood of American states. Houston, therefore, began his administration under circumstances of absolute independence, and it was for the continuation of this condition that he had to shape his measures. The sagacity of the man was shown at the start by his selection of his two rivals in the race for the presidency for the highest positions in his new cabinet. The policy of immovable impartiality which he had promised was put in practice from the first hour.

Santa Anna was still unreleased and, so soon as Houston was elected, petitioned him for his freedom. Houston visited him in prison. When the President entered the room, the Mexican general came impulsively forward and after the Latin manner opened his arms to embrace his former opponent on the battlefield. Houston, a man of generous instincts, was touched by this action and met it in the like spirit. It is said that the two generals burst into tears, the one overcome by the recollection of his terrible reverses, and the other by his warm sympathy with the emotion shown by his former enemy. The Texan senate at first refused to liberate Santa Anna; Houston remonstrated; and the question of the prisoner's detention was finally left to the President's discretion. Santa Anna was soon set free. One of Houston's reasons for releasing him had a distinctly humorous flavor. "Let the prisoner," he said, "return to his own country. By renewing his old revolutionary activity, which he is certain to do, he will keep Mexico in such a state of commotion that its people will not have either the leisure or the money to undertake the reconquest of Texas."

One of the first acts of President Houston revealed the disinterestedness of his devotion to the young Republic. Having been recently elevated to the highest office in its gift, he might naturally enough, in his expectation of a long lease of power, have discouraged every movement looking to annexation to the United States. Annexation would at once abolish the presidency and reduce him to the status of a private citizen. He allowed no such selfish thought as this to influence him, but instead instructed Colonel Wharton to

visit Washington to open negotiations for a union of his own Republic with the Republic of the north. In the meanwhile, he determined to strengthen his country's position in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world by a firm and prudent administration of its affairs. He recognized the importance of establishing peace with the Indians. The most dangerous of these savages were the Comanches, who were said at the time to be as ferocious as the Cossacks and as fleet as the Bedouins. He entered into treaties with the various tribes, and so thorough was his knowledge of the Indian character, and so just and rigid was he in carrying out all the provisions of these treaties that the alliance continued unbroken during the whole period he was in power.

The army had become mutinous from idleness and failure to receive its pay. By the ingenious device of ordering different companies to separate places on the American border, Houston succeeded in practically dissolving the force before the men could take a concerted step. When each detachment arrived in sight of American territory—from which nearly all these soldiers had come originally—the troops quietly broke up and passed out of Texas as deserters.

It was a period of unprincipled speculation, and in this the members of the Texan Congress were deeply involved. It is said that Houston vetoed not less than eighty bills which were designed in substance to defraud the Republic. The recklessness of the legislation was rendered nugatory only by the fearlessness of the President. This was illustrated in the case of a proposed excessive issue of promissory notes. He vetoed the bill, but so soon as his term came to a close, it was again passed—with calamitous results for the community in the end.

Houston encouraged good feeling in the relations of Texas and Mexico, and in consequence of this wise policy the commerce between the two countries rapidly increased in volume; and he also made it safe for American immigrants to build their homes in the region lying next to the Mexican border. The whole Republic, which had so long been a scene of uninterrupted disorder, soon subsided into a condition of per-

fect peace; and so high was the popular appreciation of these services of Houston as chief magistrate, that, like Washington, he would have been unanimously reëlected had not a second term in immediate succession been forbidden by the Constitution. "As long as old Sam is at the helm," was the prevailing sentiment, "the ship of State is safe." "We are voyaging through stormy seas," it was also said at the time, "but we know that we are sailing with Cæsar." That this confidence was fully justified was proved by the confusion which soon followed his retirement from office. His successor was Mirabeau Lamar. In the course of the latter's administration constant wars with the Indians arose, which led to innumerable massacres along the frontiers. Mexico was alienated to the point of threatening an invasion, and the finances were thrown into a condition of indescribable chaos. The national government was trembling on the edge of dissolution. It was saved from ruin only by Houston's earnest pleas for patriotic cohesion and coöperation made from his seat in Congress.

Just so soon as Lamar's term of office expired, Houston was chosen to succeed him as the only hope, in the popular view, of restoring the commonwealth to its former footing of safety. His first act was to renew the negotiations for annexation to the United States; his second, to draw up a scheme for the rescue of the country from the financial disorder into which it had fallen. He also put the Republic in a state of defense against a Mexican invasion, an event always apprehended. Above all, he confirmed the public confidence in his disinterestedness by vetoing a bill which conferred on him dictatorial powers.

Finally he sent a written appeal to the nations which had recognized the independence of Texas, to assist its President in obtaining a permanent adjustment of the difficulties that had arisen between Mexico and Texas, and which Mexico had declined to settle of its own motion. The temper of this document excited the warmest sympathy of the English and French Governments, on whom the prejudices aroused in the United States by the anti-slavery opponents of annex-

ation had made no impression. Moreover, these two countries were anxious to prevent the infant Republic from becoming a state of the American Union and were equally eager to extend their trade with its people.

While these events were occurring, the American Congress refused to take any step to hasten annexation. President Tyler was far wiser in gauging the situation, and it was through the sagacity shown by him and his cabinet that the overture made by Houston for the union of the two countries was finally accepted. It came not a minute too early, for both France and England, in pursuit of their own selfish purposes, were now engaged in strengthening their friendly relations with the government of Texas, which in the case of England at least already amounted virtually to a protectorate.

It was chiefly due to Houston's personal influence that the vast empire situated between the Sabine and the Rio Grande became a part of the United States. With this upshot, our description of his career in detail may fitly end. He was afterwards elected to a seat in the American Senate, in which he proved his ability and patriotism during a period that severely tested the characters of its members. But the day when Texas was received into the Union was the supreme hour of his heroic life, and his predominant share in bringing that event about is his highest and most enduring claim to distinction in our national history.

Chapter IX

PRESIDENT JOHN TYLER

Judge Tyler, the father of the President, a man of unusual natural ability, wide legal learning, and unsullied character, often asserted, either seriously or in jest, that he was of the blood of Wat Tyler, the English Nathaniel Bacon. Wat Tyler, like Bacon, marched upon the capital and at the point of his sword corrected the abuses of the state; and like Bacon also, he perished before his reforms could be made firm and permanent.

The President's first American ancestor had come over as early as 1652, and from that year the family had been associated with the region lying around Jamestown and Williamsburg, the two colonial centers. It is probable that, like so many others of those times, this ancestor had deserted England because as a royalist he saw the monarchy's prospects blackened apparently beyond hope of restoration. With the public spirit of his forebears, Henry, the son of the emigrant, performed in succession numerous civil duties of importance. He was bailiff, constable, justice of the peace, coroner, high sheriff, and vestryman in turn. Through his marriage with a granddaughter of Colonel John Page he formed the closest ties with one of the principal families of the community. A grandson of this Henry Tyler was appointed marshal of the vice-admiralty court of the colony; and it was this marshal's son, John Tyler, father of the President, who, beginning his public services as judge of the admiralty court in 1776, filled one after the other the offices of assemblyman, speaker, member of the Council, judge

of the Supreme Court of the state, and judge of the Federal District Court. It was at Williamsburg that this eminent member of the judiciary was associated with Jefferson as a student, a friendship which terminated only with death. Love of books and love of the fiddle appear to have been the ties that united them at the start, but both were fond of writing odes to Belinda or Cynthia, which not even Suckling or Lovelace would have disdained to own.

As a member of the House of Delegates in 1783—being at that time only thirty-six years of age—Judge Tyler defeated the famous political veteran, Richard Henry Lee, for the speakership. His most memorable service of a national character while occupying a seat in that body was his submission of a bill to authorize the summoning of an interstate convention to remove the defects of the Articles of Confederation. These flaws had particular reference at first to the commercial policy then operating between the states, which demanded immediate regulation. This Convention, which met at Annapolis, is celebrated for issuing the call for the convention that assembled in Philadelphia and drafted the Constitution of the United States. Subsequently, Judge Tyler was opposed to the ratification of this instrument because he thought that by concentrating too much power in the chief magistrate's hands it directly jeopardized the independence and sovereignty of the respective states. He was especially hostile to the right of taxation that had been granted to Congress.

So great was Judge Tyler's reputation for conscientiousness, and so amiable was his temper that in the course of his life he performed the duties of guardian for twenty-one children outside the circle of his own immediate family. His home, always notable for refinement and culture, was brightened by the gayety of a large group of young people, who were either his own kin or wards subject to his guidance. Hither, too, came the distinguished contemporaries who had been associated with him in the Assembly or on the bench.

It was under this rooftree, ennobled by the traditions and habits of Old Virginia at its best, that the future President

was born. Such were the gentle social influences, the keen intellectual, the deep moral, that surrounded his early years. The story is told of him as a little fellow that on one occasion he lifted up his hands and cried for the moon. "This child," exclaimed his proud mother, "is destined to be President of the United States; his wishes fly so high." At a later time he headed a rebellion against the harsh rules of his teacher, who had opened a school for the boys of the neighborhood. The pedagogue was bound hand and foot and left alone in his own locked-up schoolhouse. But that the youthful student had made a profitable use of his opportunities under the supposed tyrant's tuition was proved by his ability to graduate from the College of William and Mary at the age of seventeen. He crowned this event by delivering an address on the unexpected subject of female education. Among his fellow collegians were Chapman Johnson, Winfield Scott, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, William C. Rives, and Philip P. Barbour.

So precocious were Tyler's intellectual powers and so industrious was he in the pursuit of his studies that he was able to obtain admission to the bar by his twentieth year. From the start he was successful in securing a lucrative practice. This was because he was gifted with remarkable fluency, possessed of keen reasoning powers, and could, when it was pertinent, make a strong appeal to the emotions of a jury. Before he had celebrated his twenty-seventh birthday he was in receipt of an annual professional income of two thousand dollars, a large amount in that simpler age.

He was at least one year under his majority when he was solicited to become a candidate for a seat in the House of Delegates, to which he was elected only a few days after reaching manhood. Like his father before him, he was an ardent disciple of the political school of Jefferson and Madison, and a warm supporter of the national government in prosecuting the war with Great Britain then in progress. It was during this seassion of 1812 that the question arose as to the legislative right to instruct the members of the national Senate. Giles and Brent now represented Virginia in

the upper chamber. Should the Bank of the United States, established in 1791, be reincorporated, now that its charter was about to expire? The General Assembly formally directed the Virginia senators to vote in the negative, but both Giles and Brent refused to recognize the obligatory nature of this mandate. Tyler introduced a resolution condemning the two representatives; and this, with some enlargement by his colleague, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, was adopted.

The British fleet was soon threatening his native shores. The youthful politician hastened to join a company belonging to the Fifty-Second Regiment of Virginia Militia. The only incident recorded of its career was of a humorous character. The company was stationed at Williamsburg. The news burst upon its members one night that British troops were entering the town. In their haste to leave the house where they were resting on an upper floor, the soldiers dashed pell-mell through the door leading to the head of the stairway and all rolled down in confusion to the foot, only to find that the enemy had not appeared. Thus ended the young legislator's only experience that was invested with the spirit of war's alarms.

Tyler remained in the General Assembly during a period of five years, and although in one of his canvasses at least he had seven rivals, he was always reëlected by extraordinary majorities, a result that was attributable to his efficiency, fidelity to duty, and popular manners. From the General Assembly he passed first to the State Executive Council, and subsequently to the lower house of Congress. His competitor for this last office was Andrew Stevenson, at that time Speaker of the House of Delegates, afterwards Speaker of the House of Representatives, and ultimately minister to the Court of St. James—a man of remarkable talents and of rare personal charm.

Tyler was in his twenty-seventh year when he took his seat in the House, an age when most persons are content if they have begun to win their first footing in a profession. But he was far from being the raw individual so common among men at that early age. He had been practising law since

his twentieth year, and he had acquired in the legislature a thorough knowledge of political duties and partisan influences.

In the country at large Federalism had sunk into a state of death under the detestation which it had incurred by its unpatriotic opposition to the war with England, and also by utterances of its leaders that smacked of sedition and secession. Its place was taken by the rise of what was known as the American system, which resembled the Federalist principles to the extent of favoring the establishment of a national bank, the introduction of tariffs, and the building of roads and canals at the national expense—all of which measures, in spite of the original antagonism of the Jeffersonians, have now become an accepted part of our national policy. But at the time when Tyler took his seat in Congress these measures were subjects of heated controversy. It is true that the bank had been rechartered during the previous session, but the fight over its incorporation was only suspended for a period. It was not so much that Tyler and the members of his party—especially those from the South—thought that national banks, tariffs, and public improvements were wrong in themselves. They rather felt that the only safety of their section within the Union lay in a strict construction of the Constitution, with which not one of these measures was really consistent. If their passage was to be justified by mere expediency, then the interpretation of that document could be easily stretched to any limit necessary to take in any policy, however repugnant to the best interests of the Southern states.

Among the other measures to which Tyler objected was the act increasing the compensation of congressmen. It was the wish of the nation, plainly expressed through the press and public meetings, he said, that this act should not become final. Were the representatives of the nation bound to respect the will of the nation? He was convinced that they were, and he therefore threw all his influence in favor of repealing the law.

At the next election he again defeated Andrew Stevenson for Congress. One of the notable facts of his career was his

success in obtaining office. No rival could hold his ground in the face of such zeal as his friends exhibited in his support. "During his contest with Mr. Stevenson," we are told by his wife, "Mr. Minge, [a partisan of Tyler's] took his horses and wagon, in a perfect fit of enthusiasm, and drove for three days over all the county [Charles City, where Tyler resided], and collected the maimed, the halt, the blind, and those who never had voted for any one, and brought them to the polls, and Mr. Tyler had a larger majority than there had ever been voted in the county before." In his native Charles City, he received every vote recorded except one. In the adjoining county, of two hundred and thirty votes, only sixteen were given in favor of his opponent.

During the Fifteenth Congress, Tyler, somewhat out of harmony with his characteristic spirit, combatted the recognition of the independence of the newly established republics in South America. Apparently without sound reason, he considered the uprising of the oppressed people in those countries premature, a view which placed him in antagonism to Henry Clay and the most generous public men of that time. It was an illustration of the wise inconsistencies of statesmen that during this session he voted against the passage of a bill which provided for a general law of bankruptcy, and yet in the course of his presidential term he recommended the adoption of just such a measure and used the influence of his office to hasten its enactment. He also assumed an attitude of vigorous hostility to the proposition that public improvements should be undertaken by the national government. He was of the opinion that such improvements should be carried out by the separate states—an unfortunate view to be held by the representative of a commonwealth which with national assistance could have constructed the James River Canal to the Ohio and thereby diverted to Norfolk a large part of the commerce that afterwards went to make New York City the greatest port in the Western Hemisphere.

In their determination to safeguard States' Rights as a shield for the South's protection from Northern encroach-

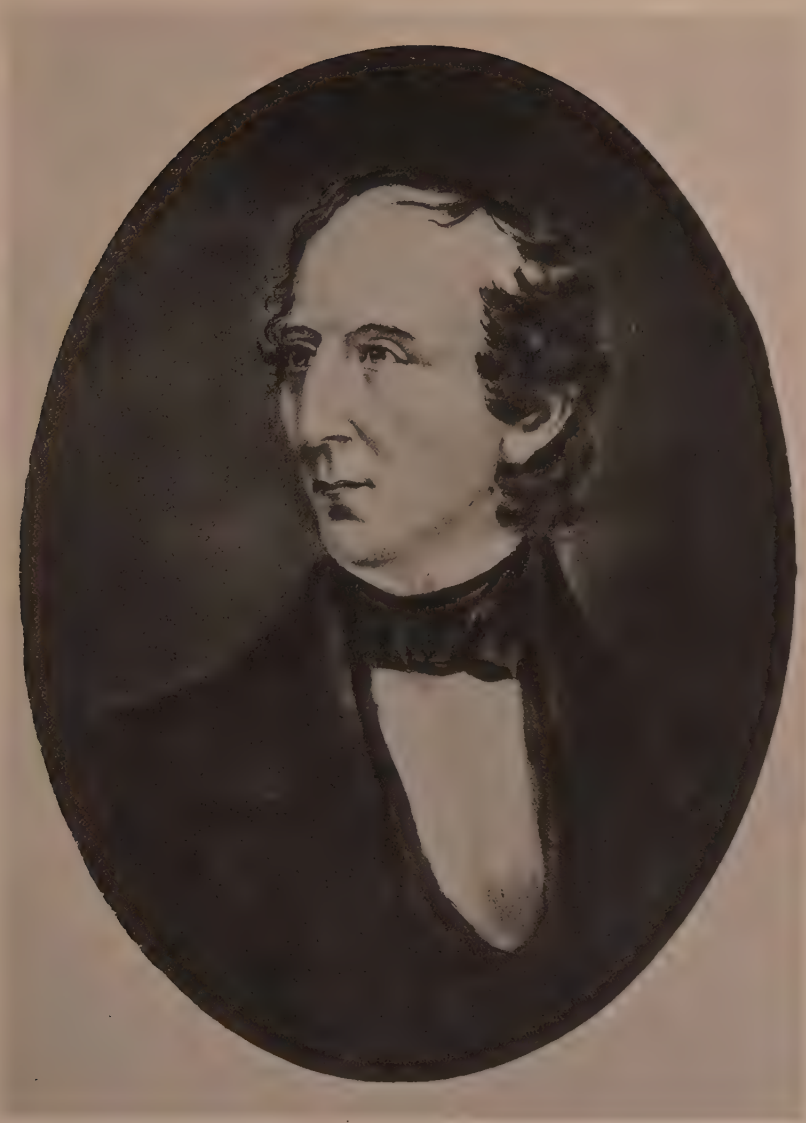

PLATE XI. *Photo Gramstorff.*

PRESIDENT JOHN TYLER

ments, the Southern public men who sympathized with Tyler were willing to jeopardize, if not to sacrifice, certain great material advantages that were only derivable to the necessary degree through the central government. This attitude grew more and more pronounced as time passed on. No part of the Union was in more need of good roads and deepened waterways than Virginia, a purely agricultural state, and yet owing to its loyalty to certain general doctrines, more or less abstract, it was compelled to overwhelm its treasury with debt to effect even partially a scheme for the establishment of its own lines for local transportation. The principles of the American system, as advocated by Clay, were much more sensible and practical than those of the States' Rights party, if it be admitted that the defense and preservation of the institution of slavery was not the most vital interest for the consideration of Southern statesmen. It is true that the South's agricultural welfare was injured by the enactment of tariffs, which were a part of that system, but it would have been better for the Southern people—as the condition of mixed agriculture and manufactures which in our own day exists among them has demonstrated—had that section paid more attention to the development of a variety of industries rather than relied almost exclusively on the production of certain great agricultural staples. The adoption of the American system—in its principal features at least—would have done no harm to the South, but rather would have done good by encouraging manufactures there, by opening up all its natural waterways, and by building in addition great highways overland.

The growth of the two Carolinas in recent years—both states being now as much industrial as agricultural—shows what might have been accomplished even under slave institutions had not States' Rights been regarded in peril under the American system. That system, it is true, was not unjustly regarded as promotive of financial panics by stimulating and inflating business enterprise; but such flurries never long retarded the growth of the North, which had adopted the system in actual practice in most of its im-

portant aspects.

It reveals Tyler's high standing in the Fifteenth Congress that he was appointed a member of a very small but very able committee to inspect the books and overhaul the proceedings of the Bank of the United States, which had fallen under sharp criticism for encouraging speculation by making loans without demanding security. The report was presented to the House almost before a month had passed, in spite of the extraordinary labor which it called for in its preparation. It was accompanied by numerous voluminous documents, which confirmed the conclusions that had been reached. The report itself reflected harshly on the bank's administration, although the majority of the signatories were not at all in favor of abolishing it. But Tyler was. Now, he urged, we have an opportunity to destroy it, unconstitutional as it already is, without violating the public faith. The House, however, was not in sympathy with this view. It simply passed a bill restricting the bank's abuses in relation to the choice of directors.

Tyler was reëlected to the Sixteenth Congress without competition. It was this Congress that had to decide the question of Missouri's admission to statehood. This question raised a controversy that promised at one time to subvert the Union. Without showing any violence in his words or actions, Tyler was immovable in his opposition to all restrictions in the grant of statehood. "For myself," he said in the course of an able speech addressed to his colleagues, "I cannot and will not yield one inch of ground." He feared the proposal of a compromise. The Senate was the first to take that step, largely through the votes of Southern members, although the fact that there was an inequality in the suggested division was acknowledged even by themselves. The South acquired under the Senate's plan—which in this particular was accepted by the House—one-ninth of the territorial domain, while the North acquired over eight-ninths.

The admission of Maine was coupled in the House bill with the admission of Missouri. When this bill was sent to the Senate for concurrence, that body required that the ad-

mission of the two projected states should go hand in hand and that the compromise border line adopted by the Senate as applicable to the rest of Louisiana should be retained. This line was 36.5° north latitude in all the territory ceded by France. The institution of slavery was not to be extended beyond this line. Under the final agreement reached by the two Houses, Maine and Missouri were admitted simultaneously, the latter without restriction on slavery within its limits. Of the forty-two members of the lower house who cast their votes in opposition to this compromise, seventeen were accredited to Virginia. Only five members from the North supported the forty-two from the South. Tyler was one of the forty-two. If secession from the Union was ever a practicable measure, it was so only in 1820, when the preponderance of power was more on the side of the Southern states than of the Northern. Tyler recognized the existence of this fact at the time and very properly refused to give way to the North. In 1850, when the preponderance had passed to the North, he favored the compromise which was then proposed; and he did so because the situation of the two sections respectively was the opposite of what it had been in 1820.

It was during the Sixteenth Congress that the question arose: Shall a tariff be adopted that looks beyond mere revenue to the protection of American manufactures? Tyler thought that this bill was calculated, should it become law—as it did in the end—to damage the prosperity of the South, the interests of which as an agricultural region lay in the enforcement of free trade, or if that was not practicable, in an act which should impose protective duties for sake of revenue only.

Tyler's health had become unsatisfactory, and he decided to retire from Congress. He was now barely thirty-one years of age, but yet he was a veteran in public life, with a reputation for ability, industry, and integrity such as few men acquire by the close of a long career. His faithful constituents refused to permit him to remain a private citizen. In December, 1823, he took his seat in the House of Delegates, to which he had belonged just after passing his majority.

One of the United States senatorships had recently become vacant owing to the death of John Taylor of Caroline. The remarkable spectacle was soon presented of a sharp contest between the veteran, Littleton Waller Tazewell, one of the greatest figures in the then recent history of Virginia, and John Tyler, a man whose age barely exceeded thirty years, for the incumbency of the office. Tyler was defeated, but so large was the vote in his favor that his election to fill the next vacancy was confidently predicted.

His youth was never considered in weighing his chance of triumphing over any rival, however distinguished during many years in the public service. Young as he was, he could claim a length of tenure in office which few even of his older competitors could assert for themselves. Nor did this tenure stop with political positions. Largely in consequence of his successful zeal in preventing the removal to Richmond of the ancient College of William and Mary, he was chosen in succession the rector and chancellor of that institution, a great honor in spite of the decline in the volume of its attendance. By his energy, attentiveness, and practical judgment, he was able in time to restore the college to its original prosperity, which was again interrupted only by the declaration of war in 1861.

In 1825 his name was brought forward in the General Assembly as a candidate for the governorship, and to this office he was elected by a majority of fifty votes over his competitor, John Floyd. One of the substantial features of his policy during his administration of state affairs was the encouragement which he gave to every measure looking to the improvement of the means of transportation from the West, through the mountains, to the cities on Tidewater. Of equal importance, from another point of view, was his advocacy of a universal system of common schools, which would afford an opportunity to all to obtain a sound elementary education. His plan was to leave to the annual county levies the support of the schools already in existence for the benefit of the poor, until the accumulation of interest from the literary fund should be sufficient to defray the expense of setting the

proposed common school system on foot. Nothing came of this wise proposal, as the time was not yet ripe for that form of community spirit.

So assiduously did Tyler meet all the requirements of his office and so gracefully did he fill its purely ornamental part that he was reëlected by the unanimous vote of the General Assembly. The secret of his success lay largely in his winning personal qualities. "He was so frank and generous," says George Wythe Munford, a contemporary, "so social and cordial, so genial and kind, and withal so manly and high-toned, and so familar with the duties of his station, that you were ready to give him your hand and heart in return for his, which he seemed ever ready to proffer."

When James Barbour resigned his seat in the Senate, John Randolph of Roanoke was chosen by the General Assembly to fill the unexpired term. So soon as the election for the full term came up, Mr. Randolph announced that he was a candidate, but he was defeated by Governor Tyler, although by a narrow majority. Without the support of the partisans of Clay and Adams in the legislature, whom Randolph had attacked with unexampled fierceness, Tyler would not have succeeded. Now began that habit of assault on the motives of the new Senator which was gradually to culminate in the storm of denunciation that fell on his head in the course of his presidency. It was even questioned whether he was a sincere upholder of the doctrine of States' Rights, although every word and act of his public life disproved the charge; and it was asserted with equal absurdity on the strength of a friendly letter which he had written Clay, when the latter accepted the secretaryship of state, that he had bargained with Clay's followers in the General Assembly in order to secure his own election to the Senate.

The old Republican party, which had been divided at one time into at least five factions, was, at the hour when Tyler took his seat in the Senate, reduced to two wings, namely, the Democrats and the National Republicans. Reluctantly he found himself in a position that constrained him to give his support to the presidential aspirations of General Jack-

son, without, however, knowing exactly where Jackson stood in principle. "In the nature of things," he wrote to a friend, "the General must surround himself by a cabinet composed of men advocating, to a great extent, the doctrines so dear to us." What were these doctrines? The constitutional inability of the national government to order the building of public works was one of them. It seems that Jackson, while in Congress, had voted for national surveys, but the force of this heretical act was broken by Old Hickory's declaration that the employment of the engineer corps was dissimilar in principle from using the pickaxe and the spade. This was refining to a degree that threw the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee in the shade. If public report was correct, Jackson was not disposed to press the tariff beyond its present status. Tyler accepted this report, so agreeable to his own wishes, as accurate in the absence of a more specific statement from the General himself at that time. Finally, he was also led in the same shadowy way to infer that Jackson believed in a strict construction of the Constitution because his Tennessee partisans held that opinion. "This man," he concluded, not altogether confidently, "can be none other than a Democrat without giving the lie to all his past political life."

Loyal to his principles, Tyler voted against the tariff bill of 1828 and also against the proposed completion of the Cumberland Road.

In the ensuing presidential campaign he supported Jackson, not with a feeling of satisfaction, but with a feeling of discontent, as Tyler regarded him as a choice of evils. He detested Adams, Jackson's competitor, and disliked Jackson, but the latter was to him the preferable of the two. The membership of the new cabinet, which included only two Federal Democrats, namely, Van Buren and Eaton, made Tyler still more hopeful that the administration's influence would be cast on the side of States' Rights; and he was soon confirmed in this sanguine attitude of mind by Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road Bill, to which Tyler as a strict constructionist was vigorously hostile. But the President's later

course, in approving the River and Harbor Bill, diminished Tyler's confidence in Jackson's regard for States' Rights; and it was still further lowered by the reorganization of the cabinet without a single seat's being filled by a representative of those principles. The bitterness which this fact occasioned him was all the keener because Jackson had owed his election so largely to men of those convictions.

Since 1820 Virginia had not budged in her opposition to the tariff. It was during the session of Congress in that year that Tyler had taken the firmest ground against protection and in doing so had predicted with extraordinary prescience the extreme to which the doctrine would be pushed in the future. During the session of 1831-32, the question of the tariff became involved in the question of nullification, and Tyler took a leading part in the debate. "We sell cheap," he exclaimed, "and are made to buy dear," a policy which, as he pointed out, fell with the greatest harshness on the comfort of the slaves, whose sufferings the Abolitionists were already holding up to reprobation. The upshot of the debate was the passage of an act under Clay's leadership that increased the burden of the tariff.

When the crisis of the tariff discussion came to a head, South Carolina determined to settle it, so far as she was involved, by the application of the doctrine of nullification. It has been correctly said of this doctrine that "it proposed to suspend the laws of the Union while the nullifying State still remained a member of the same." Tyler felt no sympathy with such a doctrine as this, although he sharply condemned the iniquity of the existing tariff; and that his opinion was shared by the South as a whole was proved by the fact that South Carolina obtained no support from any Southern legislature. In the presidential election which now took place he voted for Jackson as the candidate to whom there was the smallest objection in the interest of States' Rights. His position was substantially that of Mr. Rives, who became his colleague after Mr. Tazewell's resignation. Rives was anti-bank, anti-tariff, and anti-nullification in his principles. But the two differed on the subject of Jackson's

proclamation of December 10, 1832, denouncing nullification and secession and declaring that the people of the United States were a consolidated people. Tyler boldly expressed his opposition to these convictions from his seat in the Senate, and the General Assembly of Virginia showed its approval of his words by reëlecting him to that body a few weeks afterwards.

Clay sought to smooth out the antagonisms aroused by the threat of nullification by bringing in a compromise bill, the principle of which—the gradual reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis—had been previously suggested by Tyler. It was not long before the latter exhibited his courage again by casting his single vote—all the other opponents of the measure being absent by design—against the passage of the Force Bill.

In 1834 Jackson determined to remove the government's deposits from the Bank of the United States. The Whig party was now formed by the fusion of the National Republicans with the partisans of States' Rights. It was substantially a States' Rights party in its origin, in spite of the heterogeneous elements which composed it. For instance, there were to be found in its ranks the advocates of public improvements, the nullifiers, the supporters of States' Rights, and the Democrats who condemned the withdrawal of the deposits as unconstitutional. All these elements united in condemnation of Jackson's arbitrary course. In criticizing this course, Tyler was ardently upheld by his constituents in Virginia, whose approval expressed itself in the form of actual instructions to him to vote in favor of Clay's resolution censuring the President.

As early as January, 1835, he had been suggested as a candidate for the vice-presidency, in association with Clay as a candidate for the presidency. This was repeated in December of the same year when he was urged to take the second place on Judge White's States' Rights platform. His name was frequently mentioned for that office in all parts of the upper South, and so far north as Pennsylvania. In the meanwhile, the Democratic party, which was loyal to Jack-

son, had obtained the ascendancy in Virginia and passed resolutions in the legislature instructing Senators Tyler and Leigh to vote in favor of expunging the minute in the Senate Journal censuring the President for removing the deposits. Tyler acknowledged the General Assembly's right to pursue this course and promptly resigned his seat. Virginia cast her electoral vote in favor of Van Buren, the Elisha of the Elijah Jackson.

In December, 1840, the National Whig Convention assembled at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania. The most prominent candidate before it for the presidential nomination was Mr. Clay, who was the choice of the Southern members from the beginning to the end of the proceedings, but as the Northern members deserted him, the victory was ultimately won by William Henry Harrison. Clay's defeat made necessary some concession to the Whig delegates who supported States' Rights, and it was under the influence of this fact that Tyler was selected for the second place. No questions were asked him, and no promises were exacted of him. He was nominated on his record, which was, or should have been, familiar to all, for he had remained loyal to his principles from start to finish. Had his accession to the presidency been anticipated, the scrutiny of his career would have been more critical. He was expected to give strength to the ticket by the very differences in opinion which existed between him and General Harrison. This fact was accentuated by the Convention's failure to adopt the customary platform. He was opposed to a national bank and a protective tariff and favored a strict construction of the Constitution in relation to the rights of the states. These were his principles, and if an outcry was raised against him for adhering to them after President Harrison's death, it was not his fault, but the fault of those who had turned their gaze away from the convictions that had frankly governed the whole course of his long political life. These convictions were exploited as an effective campaign cry before the election, but they were no longer useful to the Whigs when he became President.

Harrison, whose health was unable to stand the stress of

his new duties, died one month after his inauguration. This was the first vacancy that had occurred in the office of chief magistrate. Tyler was informed of his accession by a joint note from Harrison's cabinet significantly addressed to him as "Vice-President," but on his arrival in Washington he promptly assumed the title and powers of President with a firmness that disconcerted all the schemes of the Whig plotters. The precedent that he thus set has been strictly followed ever since. But to show his anxiety to work harmoniously with the Whigs, he retained his predecessor's cabinet, although its members were not entirely agreeable to him. He was, however, fully determined, as he himself said at the time, "to act on the principles which he had all along espoused, and which he had derived from the teachings of Jefferson and Madison." These principles he had clearly enunciated in the presidential canvass.

From the beginning it was Clay's design to isolate the new President and to cut him off from the chance of election at the end of another four years. A Fiscal Bank Bill, with an eye as much on the political as the financial future, was brought up in Congress. To a national bank—unless seated in the District of Columbia and operating within each state with that state's permission—Tyler had always, as we have seen, been opposed. "He dares not resist the passage of this bill," exclaimed Clay, "I will drive him before me." But he was mistaken in his boast. Tyler, who was said by one who knew him well to be as "obstinate as a mule when he thought he was right," without hesitation vetoed the measure. He was in consequence charged with seeking a union with the Democrats for future selfish purposes, but his only reply to this accusation was his announcement that if Congress should pass a bank bill free from Constitutional objections he would sign it. At the same time he said that he would refuse to approve one that would operate per se over the whole Union.

Ardent friends of the new President now endeavored to persuade him to abandon the Whigs and reorganize his cabinet on a States' Rights footing, but he could not forget that he owed his incumbency of his great office to that party, a

feeling which led him to consider a new proposal for a fiscal system; and he himself drew up a plan for an exchange bank that would obtain his signature should it be incorporated in a bill and passed. But this plan was unacceptable to the Whig majority. In its place the Fiscal Corporation Bill, representing that majority's wishes, was presented to him for his approval, but he vetoed it as readily as he had vetoed the Fiscal Bill.

The President was bespattered with abuse for this act, although it was entirely consistent with the known principles of his political career. Four members of his cabinet resigned. Efforts were made to influence Webster, the Secretary of State, to imitate their example, as it was supposed that this step would force Tyler himself to give up his office. But Webster remained, and Tyler found no difficulty in filling the vacancies in the cabinet. In their uncontrollable disappointment at this upshot, a caucus of Whig congressmen drew up an address to the American people, in which they denounced Tyler for his vetoes of the bank bill and proclaimed his ostracism from the Whig party; and how successful Clay and his followers were in carrying this out was shown by Congress' rejection of the financial plan which Tyler submitted as a substitute for the Fiscal and Fiscal Corporation Bills. In June, 1842, he returned the provisional tariff bill unapproved. The Whigs now began to talk of impeachment. Their anger was further aggravated by the President's veto of the permanent tariff bill in July. Clay pretended to find some consolation in the situation. "The more vetoes," he said at the time, "the better for the party and me." But the elections in the autumn of 1842 proved the contrary. The Democrats obtained a majority of eighty in the House of Representatives in the place of the Whig majority of sixty. Embittered by this defeat, the Whigs now submitted a resolution in favor of actually impeaching the President; but this was thrown out almost unanimously.

The stress of national politics was heightened by several events of importance which occurred about this time. First, the Seminole war was fought and successfully terminated.

Secondly, a call for a convention to frame a new state constitution was issued in Rhode Island. It met, drafted the document, and set up a new state government. The old was still in operation. A conflict now arose between the two. The governor under the original charter appealed to the President for intervention, but Tyler was reluctant to use the administration's military power in the settlement of the dispute, unless unavoidable. It was soon reported that the governor under the new constitution was about to overrun the state with a large force. Tyler then instructed the Secretary of War to visit Rhode Island and to call upon Connecticut and Massachusetts to furnish the militia needed to preserve order, should the governor under the charter ask for aid. This firm action caused Dorr's troops to disperse.

A third event of importance in 1842 was the ratification of the Treaty of Washington, by which all the contentions that had been disturbing the relations of Great Britain and the United States were finally adjusted. The principal one was the controversy over the line of division between the possessions of the two countries in the extreme Northwest. In the settlement following the negotiations between Webster and Lord Ashburton, the United States obtained seven-twelfths of the disputed territory, which was equal in value to four-fifths of the whole. There had been a complaint that the British were in the habit of searching American vessels under the pretense that they were slavers. A rule was now promulgated under the new treaty that the crew navigating an American merchant ship was to be protected from this kind of intrusion by its flag. These diplomatic achievements of Tyler's administration must have been peculiarly gratifying to him, even if it were true, as Clay had said, that he was "President without a party" and that the "parties of the country were without a President."

As we have already stated in the biography of General Houston, the independence of Texas was recognized by the United States in 1837, the year following the victory of San Jacinto. President Van Buren refused to consent to annexation when he was urged to do so, "because," he said, "it

would lead to a War with Mexico." Texas had been a firmly established republic for five years when Tyler became President, but during this interval Mexico had declined to admit its right to set up a separate government. The danger was not that that country could reconquer Texas, but that the European Powers would take advantage of the confusion existing within its borders and assume a protectorate over its people, to the permanent exclusion of the United States. The reëlection of Houston seemed to indicate that the Texans were still in favor of annexation. By this time Tyler had come to the conclusion that his Administration should intervene; and in 1843 he instructed the Secretary of State to submit a proposal of annexation to the Texan minister stationed in Washington. A special agent was sent by President Houston to assist in the negotiation of a formal treaty looking to that end. This, as soon as drafted, was laid before the Senate; but so intense was the bitterness of sectional feeling at the time that the document was rejected. Ultimately, annexation was effected by the passage of a joint resolution, which was the method followed in admitting new states. This resolution was promptly signed by the President. To his firmness, persistence, and foresight, our country is chiefly indebted for the acquisition of this splendid domain.

Tyler's last public service of national importance was his presidency of the Peace Convention, whose supreme aim, as he said at the time, "was to restore the Union"; but its deliberations made no impression on the Northern mind, now too deeply prejudiced to accept even the reasonable compromise suggested by Senator Crittenden. War alone was to be the solution of the controversy; and to such an arbitrament the country had been really drifting ever since the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

The last chapter in Tyler's distinguished political career was his election to a seat in the permanent Confederate Congress; but he died before he could take the oath of office. Thus passed away a man who had served his native state and the nation with the most unswerving fidelity, the purest

integrity, and the truest disinterestedness, in spite of the fact that he was exposed so often, without any justification whatever, to unexampled abuse and obloquy.

Mr. Tyler was one of the most conspicuous instances in the history of Virginia of a class of public men whom England, until recent years, has been very successful in producing, namely, the statesman of birth, talent, and inherited fortune, who devotes most of his time to the occupations of public life. From the first hour of his majority to the last hour of his existence, he was deeply absorbed in public administration, ranging from the state assembly to the presidency. Throughout, he played a useful and honorable part in the history of his community, his state, and his country.

Chapter X

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

WINFIELD SCOTT was a grandson of a Highlander who had fought so furiously, but in vain, in the battle of Culloden and who, after that fatal event, despairing of his gallant young prince's cause, had fled for refuge to the plantations of Virginia. His son married the attractive daughter of an old colonial family, who had long before accepted the Hanoverian monarchs with cheerful philosophy and forgotten that the Stuarts had ever existed. As the veteran grandfather survived to Winfield's sixth year, it is quite probable that he often kept the little boy agog with stories of his hairbreadth escapes in the young Pretender's last campaign, and of his own perilous wanderings before he succeeded in escaping from the shores of Scotland. No doubt hatred of the redcoats, who had dyed their swords in the blood of his brave Highland kinsmen, lingered in the old man's heart to the end of his life and quite certainly was transmitted to his son, who all the more vigorously for that reason fought the British troopers in the Revolutionary War. In that War he rose to the rank of a captain. The grandfather had met the English in battle; so had the son; and Winfield, the grandson, was also destined to strike them a heavy blow in more than one sanguinary scene.

However honorable, sturdy, and intrepid General Scott's Highland and Virginian ancestors may have been, they could boast of no talent for the accumulation of money. When his mother, his only surviving parent, died, he was left at seventeen years of age with a very small estate, but

he was at least at liberty now to fashion his life as he preferred. She was a woman of remarkable character, and her memory continued to spur him on throughout his career. "If I have achieved anything that my countrymen are likely to honor in the next century," he wrote many years afterwards, "it is from the lessons of that admirable parent that I derived the inspiration."

It was noted of Scott as a schoolboy that his disposition was both excitable and pugnacious, and it was probably a stroke of good fortune for him that his first tutor, Mr. Hargrave by name, was a Quaker in faith and conduct alike. But the pacific instructions and example of this teacher did not check the pupil's native aggressiveness, if the provocation was such as to call for the use of his fists. Mr. Hargrave, who surveyed as well as taught for a living, was once charged by a stout bully with running a line wrong with the intention to deceive. Just as the rowdy was about to strike the inoffensive Quaker, Scott leaped forward and knocked him down. This punishment he repeated when the blusterer rose from the ground to strike a second time. "Friend Winfield," said the tutor afterwards with great placidness, "I always told thee not to fight, but as thou wouldst fight, I am glad that thou wert not beaten."

A headmaster of that day who was famous for skill and learning was James Ogilvie, a Scotchman by birth. Scott received instruction from him during a year to very great advantage, more especially in the province of classical scholarship, and with this equipment he was able to obtain admission to the College of William and Mary, where he devoted his powers of acquisition principally to civil, international, and common law. Thus prepared, he passed the examination for the bar and, like all his fellow-lawyers, rode the circuit as an aspirant for practice.

While he was thus engaged, a great commotion was aroused throughout the country by the overhauling of the *Chesapeake* by a British cruiser and the forcible removal of a part of her crew. When this outrage was reported to Jefferson, he prohibited all British war vessels from entering

American ports. Before the excitement subsided, Scott joined a troop of cavalry that had been raised in Petersburg. Subsequently, it went into camp at Lynnhaven Bay, where Scott, placed in command of a small detachment, intercepted a squad of British seamen who were diverting themselves with an excursion through the countryside. The prisoners were quickly released, as the two countries were not then in an actual state of warfare.

A taste for military life thus casually acquired led Scott to apply to President Jefferson for a captain's commission. This was promised in case hostilities should break out. A short time afterwards, while peace still prevailed, he received a commission as captain of artillery, and at once he abandoned all further pursuit of the profession of law. His energies were now concentrated upon recruiting a company, and so soon as the required number had been enrolled, he embarked with his men for New Orleans. This was in February, 1809. In consequence of imprudent utterances there at the time of Aaron Burr's arrest, Captain Scott was tried for "ungentlemanly and unofficer-like conduct." This consisted of his saying that "he had never seen but two traitors—Burr and General Wilkinson—and that General Wilkinson was a liar and a scoundrel." It was asserted during the proceedings of the court-martial that when the offense was committed Wilkinson was his commanding officer, but in reality Wilkinson was absent, and General Hampton was in control. Captain Scott was acquitted of the additional charge that he had kept certain army accounts with fraudulent irregularity. There was no ground for this accusation beyond that conjured up by the spitefulness of Wilkinson's resentful partisans. After this unpleasant experience, Captain Scott admitted that his military ardor had "abated," and he seems to have returned to the practice of law for a brief period.

But his military tastes were more deeply seated than he had supposed. In 1811 he rejoined the army and was again stationed in Louisiana. In the course of the following year he set out for Washington by sea as a member of General

Hampton's staff. While passing between the Virginia Capes his ship was hailed by a pilot boat that turned out afterwards to be carrying dispatches to the British minister—then on board a cruiser near Cape Henry—announcing that the United States had declared war against England.

On arriving at Baltimore, Captain Scott was informed that he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the American army. He was then in his twenty-sixth year. He was soon assigned to the Second Artillery, which was ordered to the Canadian border. His first experience of fire there was from the cannon of Fort Erie. Two British brigs had been captured by an American force sent after them for that purpose by Scott, now colonel, but one ran aground under the enemy's guns. Colonel Scott came promptly forward with reinforcements and, in spite of the heavy bombardment to which he and his men were exposed, succeeded in burning the stranded ship to the water's edge.

General Van Rensselaer, in command at Lewistown, decided to advance across the river into Canada and establish his winter quarters at Jamestown. There was some confusion in the passage of the stream, and a stubborn resistance was made by the British after the landing. Colonel Scott was not present when this movement started, but came up just about the time the American forces on the Canadian side began to be hard pressed. Additional troops under him were now rushed across the river, in the expectation that other troops would quickly follow, but the new recruits who had very recently entered the camp on the American bank refused to leave American soil. In the meanwhile, the detachment of three hundred men under Colonel Scott on the Canadian side persistently held its ground, although now confronted by the whole British army. "Let us die, arms in hand," he exclaimed to his men. "Our country demands the sacrifice. The blood of the slain will make heroes of the living. Those who follow will avenge our fall, and our country's wrongs. Who dare to stand?" The reply was a shout of approval from the whole line.

In the end the numerical preponderance against the

American troops, shut off by the river from all hope of reinforcement, compelled them to surrender. The British General Brock had been killed, and when the hour of his burial approached, Colonel Scott, now a prisoner of war, sent a message to the American forces on the American side of the stream to fire minute guns during the holding of the funeral services, an act of chivalrous courtesy which both pleased and amazed the enemy.

Struck with the fact that Colonel Scott, in spite of his conspicuous uniform, had during the fighting escaped apparently without a scratch, two Indians entered the house where he was confined to see whether, after all, he had not been hit by a bullet in some hidden part of his person. One seized him by the arm to turn him around so as to bring his back into view. Colonel Scott, a giant in size and vigor, hurled him against the wall of the room. Both Indians instantly whipped out their knives and were prevented from making a deadly lunge at him only by the quickness with which Colonel Scott seized a sword and held it threateningly before him. An aide-de-camp of the British commander, catching the sound of the altercation, rushed into the room and presented a cocked pistol at the head of the foremost of the two savages. The two then sullenly retired.

Having been exchanged, Colonel Scott was again promoted, and after briefly performing the duties of adjutant general, he became chief of staff to General Dearborn, who was in command of the troops, about five thousand in number, concentrated at Fort Niagara. On the opposite side of the river was Fort George, at that time occupied by a large body of British regulars. Only a few days before Colonel Scott's arrival on the ground, York, the capital of upper Canada, had been captured by an American force, and this had encouraged General Dearborn to arrange for an attack on Fort George, with the coöperation of the American fleet anchored in the neighboring waters.

Colonel Scott, at the head of his regiment, led the vanguard. With the aid of the ships, the Americans landed safely on the British side and at once drew up in line of

battle. After a resolute attempt to block the way, the British yielded and retreated in some confusion. A detachment of Colonel Scott's regiment was now hastened towards Fort George to prevent its destruction at the hands of the enemy's rear guard. Just as the American troops reached it, a magazine exploded, and in the rain of debris that followed, Colonel Scott's collar bone was broken. In spite of this mishap, he hurried at the head of his men into the fort and pulled down the British flag with his own hands. The British were so little discouraged by this defeat that two days later they landed a large force at Sackett's Harbor. The vigorous assault of a body of militia led by General Jacob Brown soon compelled them, however, to reëmbark.

To such a degree did Colonel Scott increase his reputation for efficiency by his conduct in these different operations that he was assigned to the command of twenty companies, an organization double the size of his previous regiment. And with this augmented force he was successful in capturing York and destroying its stores.

It was finally decided that an expedition should be sent down the St. Lawrence to occupy Montreal. Generals Wilkinson and Hampton were placed in command. Colonel Scott was ordered to take position at the head of the troops in the march, and he pushed so far forward of the main force that he missed all share in the engagement that took place at Chrysler's Farm. The upshot of this battle so much discouraged General Wilkinson, the senior officer, that he ordered a halt to be sounded, which was soon followed by a retreat. At the moment Colonel Scott was sanguine of capturing Montreal, as there was no British detachment stationed between him and that city to stop his advance to its gates. His bold and energetic conduct in this campaign had increased the public confidence in his military capacity. This was conspicuously shown by his promotion to the rank of brigadier general.

In July, 1814, with the three and one-half regiments and a company of artillery placed under his immediate control, he crossed the Niagara River and captured Fort Erie. The

PLATE XII. *From an old crockery plate made in honor of Scott and now owned in Richmond. Photo Cook.*

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

army at large was under the orders of General Jacob Brown. That whole body soon advanced towards Chippewa, where it attacked the British, who were strongly intrenched and protected by numerous batteries. When within eighty paces of these defenses, General Scott exclaimed to the commanding officer of McNeill's battalion, "The enemy say we are good at long shot, but cannot stand the cold iron. I call upon the Eleventh to give the lie to that slander. Charge!" Supported by other battalions, the Americans moved forward at double quick and drove the British before them in confusion. In his report upon the incidents of the battle, General Brown said, "To General Scott, more than to any other man, am I indebted for the victory of July 5th. His brigade covered itself with glory."

General Scott was next sent to threaten the forts situated at the mouth of the Niagara River. As he was marching in that direction he came unexpectedly upon a British army drawn up in line of battle at Lundy's Lane. He decided to attack without waiting for reinforcements. The fight began at a late hour of the afternoon, but before the night had closed in, he had driven back the British right and turned and cut off the British left. The center alone had held its ground. General Brown now arrived upon the scene, and in the end the rest of the British regiments gave way and retreated from the field. The last resistance was made by a battery stationed on a ridge. "Can you take that battery?" said General Brown to General Miller. "I will try, Sir," was the short and modest reply. Led by General Scott, who was familiar with the ground, the force under General Miller captured the guns. During the battle General Scott had had two horses killed under him and had received severe wounds in the side and shoulder. These injuries prevented him from taking an active part in the brief remaining course of hostilities.

How high was the reputation which he had won as a brave and competent officer was proved by the tender to him of the secretaryship of war, which he modestly declined on the ground that he was too young to hold so responsible a posi-

tion. But he was probably influenced by deference for the superior claims of the two most distinguished commanders in the late conflict, Andrew Jackson and Jacob Brown. In recognition of his military services, he was presented with a gold medal by Congress and a sword by the state of Virginia.

In November, 1829, General Scott was assigned to the command of the eastern department. A few years later, in consequence of depredations by the whites in their territory, Black Hawk and his tribe took up arms, and in a battle fought with the militia of Illinois defeated and dispersed them. After numerous skirmishes, Black Hawk was captured. For a time the success of the Indians was so great and so alarming that General Scott was sent out with a large force to put them down. While this force was making the journey to Chicago, Asiatic cholera broke out among the soldiers, and of the one thousand who left Buffalo, only four hundred survived the epidemic. General Scott was perfectly fearless in administering to the needs of the sick, but though exposed at every moment of the day and night to the actual presence of the terrible disease, he escaped contagion. "At the bake-house," says one who was attached to the army, "we found him one day giving instructions how to make the most wholesome bread, and on the next, we beheld him when one of his bakers was consigned to the tomb. We next find him instructing those employed in the culinary art, so cautious was he about everything that his men ate and drank. And in order to insure temperance among the soldiers, he issued an order requiring every one of them found drunk to dig a grave."

The expedition closed with the negotiation of treaties with the Indians which brought about peace with them during many years. General Scott was warmly commended by the Secretary of War on his return to Washington.

In 1828 a wave of excitement swept over several of the Southern states in consequence of the passage of a tariff act considered by them to be destructive of their welfare. The resentment was peculiarly keen on this account among the

people of South Carolina, but they also denounced the act as violative of the Constitution because it discriminated practically in favor of one section of the country, the North, as against another, the South. A convention boldly pronounced the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 null and void and therefore not binding on the state, its officers, or its citizens; and it declared that, if the United States should seek to enforce these laws within the boundaries of South Carolina, that commonwealth would consider itself justified in organizing an independent government and would resist any attempted coercion with all its power. President Jackson issued a vigorous proclamation in opposition to this announcement of the convention and gave orders for the transfer of two batteries of artillery to Fort Moultrie. His next step was to send General Scott on a secret mission to Charleston, with instructions to act "in obedience to the legal requisitions of the proper civil officers of the United States," unless a specific command to the contrary was given him.

Soon after his arrival in Charleston, General Scott advised the President to place large garrisons in Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and the arsenal at Augusta, and to concentrate a fleet of sloops and revenue cutters in the harbor of Charleston itself, to enforce the collection of duties on foreign importations. He quietly took steps to prepare against the threatened hostilities, and so prudently did he bear himself that no alarm among the people was caused by his presence. He was supposed to be simply performing the duties of military inspector, which was customary with him at that time of the year. It needed only the application of a spark to start the conflagration, for numerous volunteer companies had been organized by the nullifiers for immediate service. It was a subject of some comment that the buttons worn by these local troops had been manufactured in Connecticut. In the midst of the excitement, a fire broke out in Charleston, and the person most active in extinguishing it was General Scott at the head of a naval and military detachment. This tended to allay the feeling which had been aroused against the federal soldiers. "From the beginning

to the end of the trouble in South Carolina," said the Virginia Commissioner, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, "Scott's conduct was as conciliatory as it was firm and sincere, evincing that he knew his duty and was resolved to perform it; and yet his principal object and purpose were peace. He was perfectly successful when the least imprudence might have resulted in a serious collision."

In January, 1836, he was ordered to take command of the army which had been concentrated in Florida to suppress the Indian uprising that had begun under the leadership of the famous chief, Osceola, and in the course of which there had been, before General Scott's arrival on the ground, many bloody scenes. He was instructed to refrain from making peace "with the Indians while a slave belonging to a white man remained in their possession." The campaign on which he now entered was a difficult one, as the terrain was made up of a succession of swamps, bogs, and hummocks. There were no military posts in the country where provisions could be stored. The army had to transport its own supplies and munitions over newly made roads rendered almost impassable by continuous rains. At first the Indians were nowhere to be encountered in formidable numbers. It was suspected that the main body had taken refuge in the Everglades, but from time to time small bands not so far away would steal from their sylvan fastnesses and attack separate detachments of the American troops. So vast was the territory to be covered in the campaign, and so hard was it to drive the savage warriors from their lurking places that General Scott declared, "To end this war, I am now persuaded that not less than three thousand troops are indispensable. The country to be occupied and scoured requires that number."

The Seminoles were not finally conquered and hostilities with them fully brought to a close until the decisive battle of Okeechobee had taken place. The officer in command there was Colonel Zachary Taylor, who was afterwards to participate in the war with Mexico and to triumph in several of its most celebrated battles.

The confidence of the government in General Scott's powers of conciliation was shown by his selection to superintend the removal of the Cherokees from the South to the reservations assigned them beyond the Mississippi River. He first prepared them for their departure from their old hunting grounds by going among them from village to village and describing the advantages of emigration, and assuring them that the most scrupulous care would be taken of those who would be compelled by sickness to remain behind. Every precaution was to be used to promote the ease and safety of the long journey through the forests and over the prairies, when it should once begin. A place of rendezvous was chosen, where the various sections of the tribe were gradually concentrated. The camp is said to have extended for a distance of twelve miles on a straight line, and its width was not less than four. The site was in a beautiful area of country shaded by primeval trees, and watered by pure and lucid streams.

General Scott visited this camp daily, inspected the hospitals, saw that there was an abundance of food, and arranged specially for the comfort of the women and children. He sent away all the troops except one company, which was retained as a police force. When the march of this great multitude began, he joined their ranks and accompanied them as far as the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. He was prevented from traveling further by instructions from the President, delivered to him on the way, to set out for the Canadian border, in order to observe the operations of the Canadian insurgents. But he was diverted from this duty by the trouble which had arisen between Maine and the province of New Brunswick. He was ordered to go on to the scene of this controversy and if possible remove its cause. The principal dispute had been occasioned by the demarcation of the boundary line. This question was finally transferred to the authorities of the United States and Great Britain for permanent settlement.

At one time war appeared to be certain, and that it did not occur was in large measure due to the tact and good judgment of General Scott in his negotiations with Gover-

nor Harvey of New Brunswick. In the War of 1812-15 Harvey had been the adjutant of one of the British armies operating in the valley of the St. Lawrence and had been brought by his duties as such into correspondence and agreeable personal intercourse with Colonel Scott. An additional incident had confirmed their kindly feeling for each other. A miniature was found by an American soldier in a captured portmanteau marked "Lieutenant Colonel Harvey." Colonel Scott bought both articles at the time and sent them to Colonel Harvey. The picture turned out to be the likeness of his young bride, then in England awaiting his return from the war in Canada.

But the greatest distinction of General Scott's career was to be won in another and more remote quarter. On December 29, 1845, Texas was admitted, by a joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress, to all the privileges of statehood in the Union. By this time Scott had become general in chief of the army. In July, General Taylor, then in command of one of the departments of the Southwest, was ordered to take charge of military affairs in the newly annexed commonwealth. He went into camp at Corpus Christi with an army of four thousand men. In the course of the following spring he advanced to the Rio Grande and stationed his troops at a point on the American side just opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras. The war with Mexico began with the Battle of Palo Alto. From this scene of victory, after again defeating his opponent at Resaca de la Palma, Taylor moved forward against the city of Monterey and, having fought within its confines continuously for five days, carried it by storm.

In November General Scott was ordered to repair to Mexico for the purpose of organizing an expedition against the cities on the Gulf Coast. It was designed to leave General Taylor a force only large enough to hold the line of the Rio Grande. It was this officer's conviction that the advance on the Mexican capital should be made southward by land, but General Scott had formed a plan for invasion from the port of Vera Cruz, and he instructed Taylor to detach a large

division of his regulars to assist in the proposed operation. The landing took place in March. The army disembarked numbered about twelve thousand men. It was General Santa Anna's expectation that the city at large, defended by the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, would be able to hold out against a siege until the annual season for the return of yellow fever should arrive, which he was confident would decimate the American ranks.

Within a short time, city and castle were invested by the American troops, and the harbor was blockaded by the American fleet. General Scott summoned the Mexico commander to surrender, on the ground that the besieging force was so large that in the end nothing was to be gained by resisting; but General Morales politely yet firmly declined to comply, although he had under him only about forty-four hundred men to meet the assault of the far superior army of his opponent. General Scott decided that unless a proposal to surrender was received by March 26, he would order an assault on the city's fortifications from every point of the compass. But on that day a communication was sent to him by General Landero, who had succeeded Morales, that he would consider an offer of terms of capitulation. In the end the garrison was permitted to march out of the city with all the honors of war. "Not even a look," says a Mexican historian, "was given them by the enemy's soldiers, which could be interpreted into an insult."

General Scott paid close and constant attention to every detail of the siege, even to the point of fixing the time for the firing of the batteries. He remonstrated with some of his soldiers for exposing their persons unnecessarily. "But General," one is said to have replied, "you are exposing yourself." "Oh," he answered with a laugh, "Generals nowadays can be made out of anybody, but men cannot be had."

Early in April the advance upon the city of Mexico began. The first objective was the town of Jalapa, where it was reported Santa Anna had taken position with a force estimated to number all the way from two thousand men to thirteen thousand. The first engagement occurred at Cerro

Gordo, which ended in the enemy's overthrow. Indeed, so complete was the victory that General Scott reported himself "quite embarrassed with the results—prisoners of war, heavy ordnance, field batteries, small arms, and accoutrements." Three thousand of the foe laid down their guns, and five of their generals surrendered. General Santa Anna's exhortation, after hearing of the capitulation of Vera Cruz, had proved in vain. "If the enemy advance one step more," he had warned his soldiers, "the national independence will be buried in the abyss of the past."

The American army, elated with success, resumed the march towards the capital. As the troops ascended towards the central plateau, the most magnificent views burst upon their astonished and enthusiastic sight. There were about four thousand men in the moving ranks. It was now the month of August, and General Twiggs's division led the van. How rash this advance into the heart of a hostile country seemed to be to foreigners, who at a distance were interested in the campaign, is learned from a remark which the Duke of Wellington is reported to have made: "Scott is lost. He has been carried away by success. He can't take the city of Mexico and he can't fall back on his base." But the conqueror of Napoleon was mistaken. Puebla was soon entered without resistance; and so orderly and so humane was the conduct of the American troops there that when General Scott arrived in person with his staff he was received with the cheers of the populace and escorted to the palace by admiring crowds. The march towards the capital was within a short time begun again. Harney's cavalry led the way. Just before the city could be reached, a field of volcanic rock, known as the Pedregal, had to be crossed. This was carefully inspected by two officers destined to become famous in the War for Southern Independence, namely, Captain Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant Pierre G. T. Beauregard, who found it to be penetrable only by infantrymen, as they alone would be sufficiently free in movement to pick their way between the boulders of lava. The difficulties of the passage were increased by the presence of Mexican batteries

PLATE XIII. *Photo Cook.*

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT

on a ridge that commanded the face of the Pedregal.

But in spite of the obstruction to their further progress created by this volcanic debris and by the active play of the hostile batteries beyond, a large body of American troops gallantly pushed forward to a position between the Pedregal and the city of Mexico and afterwards again advanced, with the view of thrusting themselves behind the Mexican rear in the latter direction. In order to avoid the threatened investment, the Mexican troops took to flight, with their opponents in hot pursuit. This was known as the Battle of Contreras. It threw open the road to the capital. The number of the enemy captured and killed was extraordinary in proportion to the number actually engaged; and in addition to these losses of men, a great quantity of supplies, munitions, and ordnance was seized. But one fortification now stood in the way of the final advance. This was the Convent of San Pablo, which contained such thick walls that no impression could be made on it by artillery. It was in the end carried by assault. From the proximity of its site to the Rio Churubusco, this battle has always been known by that name. The two battles of Contreras and Churubusco were fought on the same day and formed in reality a single combat.

General Scott was now in a position to take possession of the city of Mexico at once, but as an envoy had arrived from Washington with instructions to negotiate a treaty of peace between the two belligerent countries, it was thought to be advisable to hold the American army back for awhile. Commissioners were appointed by both sides, and a convention was soon concluded forbidding the prosecution of further military operations within thirty leagues of the Mexican capital, as long as the armistice should last. In the end the commissioners were unable to arrive at a settlement agreeable to each side, and hostilities were resumed. The battles of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec were soon fought and won by the American army. On the morning of September 14 General Scott, accompanied by his staff, entered the capital. It was estimated that the size of the military force under his command had not exceeded six thousand men dur-

ing the operations in the neighborhood of the city. These were opposed by twenty thousand Mexicans. The entire Mexican army resisting the advance from the sea to the valley of Mexico was put down at thirty thousand, of whom not less than seven thousand were either wounded or killed in the course of the campaign, while four thousand were captured. Seventy-five pieces of ordnance and twenty thousand stands of small arms were also taken.

General Scott summed up the military situation in Mexico precisely when he said in his first report: "The *war of masses* ended with the capture of the enemy's capital; the *war of detail*, including the occupation of the country, and the collection of revenue, requires a large additional force." During several months there occurred a series of guerrilla attacks by the lurking Mexican commanders which only served to annoy small detachments of the American army, without doing them any serious damage. The war did not really end until the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was concluded in February, 1848, and proclaimed in July of the same year. Under the terms of this treaty, the western boundary of the United States was extended to the Pacific, while the southern was carried deep into the former territory of Mexico. It was due to the military operations of two Virginians, Scott and Taylor, that this great addition to the national domain was made.

When the crisis of 1861 arrived, General Scott remained faithful to the Union. The whole of his long life after reaching maturity had been passed in its military service; his home had throughout that period been beyond the borders of his native state; and his children had married into Northern families. All his ties of every kind were such as to weaken, if not entirely to destroy, his loyalty to his native section, which was now endeavoring to break away from the government at Washington. He strove in vain to bring Colonel Robert E. Lee over to his own view of an American officer's duty at that trying hour, and perhaps the bitterest moment of his whole career was the one in which he had to acknowledge that his exhortations and remonstrances to his honored

subordinate failed to change the latter's convictions.

General Scott was now too old to expect that an important command in the field would be given him by the federal administration. He had to content himself with the rôle of an adviser to the War Department, but even in this province his recommendations were so often pushed aside that he was ultimately compelled to recognize that his only means of avoiding the humiliations of a doubtful official position was to be found in retirement to private life. He barely survived the conflict.

When it was about to begin, he made two prophecies which were in the end confirmed. His first prediction was that the war would continue at least three years and a half, with varying fortunes on either side. His second exhibited more astute foresight. When on one occasion he asserted his confidence in the ultimate triumph of the North, Mr. Seward was present—"Then, General," the Secretary of State exclaimed, while he rubbed his hands in his satisfaction, "the troubles of the Federal Government will be at an end." "No Sir," replied General Scott with unusual solemnity, "for a long time, thereafter, it will require the exercise of the full powers of the Federal Government to restrain the fury of the non-combatants."

Chapter XI

EDGAR ALLAN POE

It has been asserted that the original name of Poe's remote ancestors was Power or De Poer. If that was really the case, the family goes beyond Ireland—the seat of his immediate forebears—to Wales, to France, to the olive and mulberry shaded plains of Lombardy. In other words, the removal to America was only the last stage in the long drawn out journey from the north of Italy.[1]

Poe himself was inclined to believe that this was the path of migration which his ancestors had taken. One of his biographers claims that he was remotely sprung from an officer of Cromwell's army who had received grants of Irish lands. However that may be, we are positively sure of only two of his near European kinsmen: Admiral McBride, a member of Parliament in 1785; and David Poe, of Dublin, who wrote a poem which Robert Burns thought to be of such merit as to entitle it to a place in a collection of fugitive pieces which he was making. This poem was of a tenor to appeal irresistibly to the susceptible heart of the Scotch bard, for was it not full of passion, and a passion, too, not quite so spiritual or so ethereal as that which David's American cousin was to lavish on his Lenores, Ulalumes, and Annabel Lees?

Edgar belonged to the second generation born in America. He was in descent near enough to John Poe, the Irish emigrant of 1745, to share some of the family traits that sprang

[1] In writing this chapter I am indebted chiefly to a series of articles which I contributed to the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, the *Sewanee Review*, and the Richmond *Times*.

from intermarriage with the Celtic stock after the voyage across St. George's Channel. What were some of these characteristics as exhibited by him? First, an inveterate incapacity to thrive, although this quality in him was not associated with a wasteful or an indolent spirit. Secondly, a quick responsiveness, a passionate fervor, rising to the verge of insanity when he was inflamed by liquor; and finally, a flowing eloquence, an unfailing mellifluence, both as a writer and as a conversationalist. On the other hand, we detect in him no smack of Irish humor and no touch of Irish geniality. Only in his love affairs was there any display of Celtic effusiveness and inconsequence.

In General David Poe, the poet's grandfather, a citizen of Baltimore, we have his most distinguished American ancestor. The General started life as a wheelwright, but that he could nurse other and more lofty thoughts than those suggested by his adz and saw was demonstrated by his indignant energy in taking the lead of the mob which drove the King's loyal sheriff from the city. The poet later on was as much exhilarated in running down the poetasters and small literary vermin of his day as the brawny wheelwright was in ferreting out tories and royalists and pursuing them with hue and cry through the streets. From first to last, General Poe was above all else a patriot. As an assistant quartermaster, he generously advanced out of his own pocket, which was by no means a full one, money for the purchase of provisions, forage, and clothing for the hungry and ragged continentals—an act for the public benefit that was not even rewarded by the return of the very considerable sum when the day of peace and plenty again dawned.

The poet shared at least one physical quality with his grandmother on the paternal side—she was so remarkable for beauty that the tradition of its delicate perfection long survived her death. When Lafayette, during his final visit to America, eagerly sought her out to show his affectionate respect for the memory of his ancient friend and comrade, her husband, he exclaimed not altogether tactfully, while the tears so expressive of his Gallic sensibility freely coursed

down his time-furrowed cheeks: "Madam, when I last embraced you, you were younger and more blooming than now."

Poe's grandmother on the maternal side was described by one observer as plump, rosy, and good-natured, who, to keep little Edgar and his sister Rosalie from prattling and running about while their mother lay dying, gave them lumps of sugar which had been steeped in gin! She drowned her own poverty in holland and brandy. It is of a sad significance that she is known to have taken an intoxicant. In her early years, while she still possessed beauty of person, she enjoyed the reputation of being a talented singer, which made her popular in those light comic operas in which sprightly vocal music was chiefly relied on to captivate the audience.

Of all Poe's nearest ancestors his father rises before us as the most shadowy in outline; and yet on some sides of his character, faint as they appear, he recalls more than any other kinsman of that generation his famous son. In the little we know of him, there is a distinct suggestion of the same personal grace and refinement, the same determination to sacrifice a more practical pursuit to the gratification of a supreme inclination to follow the precarious calling which he preferred, the same inability to make that calling conducive to his pecuniary ease even in a moderate degree, the same lack of the sort of firmness which alone could overcome his propensity to drink. To him were assigned those parts on the stage for which he was supposed to be peculiarly suited by native qualifications. It was nearly always in the rôle of the gay, squandering, and reckless gallant that he trod the boards, the rôles of Harry Thunder and of Wild Oats, which, unfortunately for himself, he had played so easily and so naturally in private life. He went out like a feebly burning candle, exasperated to the end by disease and penury.

The fate of his wife was equally pathetic, in spite of the fact that she possessed far more talent for their common profession than he. The dramas in which she sparkled were

of a romantic and sentimental cast, but she shone almost as brilliantly in light comedy, interspersed with lively music and graceful dances. Tragedy, which during most of her public career she was playing in her private life, was alien to her genius on the boards, unless she was impersonating such lovely characters as Ophelia and Desdemona. She appeared also as Blanche and Cordelia, as Juliet, Palmyra, and Sigismonda, and on one occasion at least, as the Duke of York in Richard III. It was as a nymph, a sprite, a cupid, an Ariel, that her singular grace displayed itself in the most enchanting light. We are told that she frequently sang and sometimes danced a Polish minuet, the feminine counterpart to her husband's hornpipes, reels, and strathspeys. One who has recorded his impression of her appearance and action behind the footlights mentions "her round, rosy, laughing face, short dark curls, and beautiful large blue eyes." "She had the aspect of a young girl," the same witness also says. "Her manner was gay and saucy, and the audience continually applauded her."

To the last the poet cherished with an almost passionate solicitude the miniature which preserved the cast of his mother's lovely, delicate features for posterity. "No earl," he declared, "was ever prouder of his earldom than I of my descent from a woman who, although well-born, hesitated not to consecrate to the drama her brief career of genius and beauty."

Poe was born in Boston, where his mother happened to be filling an engagement at a local theatre. But the molding influences of his early life were derived from his association with the city of Richmond. "I am a Virginian," he declared on one occasion to a friend. "At least I call myself one, for I have resided there all my life until the last few years." Richmond at that time resembled a very large village. With few exceptions, each important residence stood in the center of a plat covering an acre or two or even more; and the open spaces were embellished with spreading elms and magnolias and exotic shrubbery; and here and there a garden was seen filled with pinks, roses, hollyhocks, and other old-

fashioned English flowers. The variety of the architecture was an impressive feature of the old town; and equally impressive was that architecture's exact adaptation, in lofty ceilings, wide halls, and ample porches, to a warm climate. The interiors of these beautiful mansions were adorned with a profusion of artistic objects, such as family portraits, landscapes in oil, engravings, bronze figures, busts, silver, china, furniture, and books. Many of these articles had come down from remote Colonial times.

Who were the people inhabiting these stately residences? As the capital of the commonwealth, Richmond afforded the most lucrative legal practice in Virginia, and it followed that the membership of this bar was of the highest repute, whether considered from the point of view of learning, character, or talents. Hardly less distinguished were the numerous officials whose duties under the state or municipal administration required them to remain in Richmond throughout the year. Of equal prominence in the community were the principal physicians. The editors of the foremost local journals enjoyed also a high distinction. Quite as conspicuous as these leaders in local society were the wealthiest merchants, who, to great probity and sagacity, united a broad public spirit in their connection with the affairs of the town and the state. Some of these merchants, like John Allan, Poe's fosterfather, were men of foreign birth and education.

The members of the several callings which we have mentioned gave a luster to the social life of the town out of all proportion to its really small population. Although it could boast of no authors, there was a general taste for reading among the persons representing the highest social order, and also a remarkable familiarity with all the English, and with most of the Latin, classics. The refinement of these persons further manifested itself in their unaffected urbanity and courtesy of manner; in their instinctive but unostentatious hospitality to strangers visiting the city; in the chivalrous bearing of the men towards women; in their sensitiveness on all points of personal honor; and finally, in the purity, modesty, charm, and beauty of the women themselves.

Society was constantly enlivened by different forms of gayety—the ball, the dinner party, the card party, the theater and the race course. There were two race meets a year, and each was closed with a ball at the Eagle Tavern. This ball opened with a minuet and ended with a jig. The interval was interspersed with contra-dances, and the contra-dances were in turn varied with a hornpipe or a congo.

The refined and cultured provincialism of the town, which gave a racy flavor of its own to the character of its people, could not have failed to impress a susceptible and observant nature, like the future poet's, brought under its influence from early childhood. Poe became a member of this community in 1811, when he was only two years old. During the next fourteen years, with the exception of the sojourn of five years in England, his time was passed in Richmond under the roof of his adopted parents. In 1829 Mr. Galt died, and John Allan, his nephew, as one of his two heirs, came into part possession of his large estate. Allan had previously been very unsuccessful in business, but he seems nevertheless to have always lived in substantial ease and comfort.

After his acquisition of a handsome property, he made his home in a less contracted residence in a more desirable section of the city. Here the poet spent the six months just preceding his matriculation at the University of Virginia. It was a house that from every point of view surpassed any one of the three he had previously lived in. Here was assigned him in the most attractive part of the upper floor a room of his own, stocked with every article that would please the fancy of a cultivated boy—books, pictures, lounges, and writing desks. Here he rested, slept, read, scribbled, and received his friends. During this happy period he was surrounded by every appurtenance of wealth.

The tea and card parties of his foster parents were attended by the members of the most accomplished circle in the town. As Episcopalians, they had no sympathy with the austere ideas about social observances so strictly held at this time by other religious denominations. Their Sunday din-

ners were the most luxurious of the week. Mrs. Allan, of a sprightly disposition by nature, was so inordinately fond of the diversions of society that she was accused of worldliness, but possibly envy had suggested the charge. It was at one of her card parties that we obtain our first view of the future poet. He is pictured as standing between the doors of the drawing-room and reciting to a distinguished audience stirring passages from the *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* The sweetness of his voice, the clearness of his enunciation, and the brilliance of his eyes were recalled fully half a century afterwards by persons who had seen him thus declaiming his lines. As he grew older, he was encouraged to have little parties of his own playmates, at which dancing and charades were the principal amusements.

Richmond had long enjoyed a wide reputation for its excellent academies, at least two of which were conducted by alumni of foreign universities. One of the best of these academies had been founded by John Clarke, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. He was a Latinist of a very high order. Poe had already been grounded in that tongue in Dr. Bransby's classical school at Stoke Newington near London. He was particularly versed in the *Odes* of Horace, which he quoted so often that some of his younger companions came to know the most famous lines of that writer simply by his constant recital of them from memory. From this date his experiments in English composition began. Both in and out of the schoolroom he was soon testing his ability to string together lines of his own composition. Mr. Allan, who seems to have considered a ledger the only really useful book in the world, consulted with Mr. Clarke as to whether it would be advisable to print a selection of Edgar's poems, which he submitted in manuscript for examination and criticism.

Subsequently, Poe was a pupil in Burke's Academy, situated also in Richmond, and as celebrated locally as Clarke's for its attention to the Latin, Greek, and English classics. If we take the three schools in which he had been trained—Bransby's, Clarke's, and Burke's—it is doubtful whether a

Plate XIV. *From the bust by Zolnay, now at the University of Virginia. Photo Cook.*
EDGAR ALLAN POE

boy of his strong natural bent for literature could have been more fortunate in the scope and tenor of his primary education. It was not simply because Poe was a man of genius that even in youth he was master of a style remarkable for elegance, purity, and opulence of language, and for ease, flexibility, and precision of expression. That style, as far as it was not congenital, was entirely attributable to the literary influence of these three thorough academies.

But all Poe's energies in these formative years were not consumed in studying the classics or in reading miscellaneous volumes. While his figure was slender, his constitution was robust, and his fibre unusually tough. He was very emulous of excelling as an athlete; and in all public tests of superior strength and skill he was generally put forward by his youthful companions as their principal champion. In his swiftness as a runner in a foot race, in his agility as a leaper, in his endurance as a walker, and in his capacity as a swimmer his local reputation was unsurpassed. On one occasion he swam from the end of the falls as far as Warwick, a distance of at least six miles, with the advancing tide to breast and overcome along a part of the way.

Poe rises before our mind's eye in these formative years as a youth who had among his local contemporaries hardly an equal in the performance of either his intellectual or his athletic tasks—a combination of physical and mental vigor which augured for him a normal, happy, and successful life. Fortuitous circumstances, created partly by himself and partly by others, completely overclouded the fair prospects that spread out before him during this period of adolescence. He resembled a leaf that, falling from an overhanging bough into a placid backwater of some great stream, floats for a time peacefully within those unruffled confines, until suddenly a rushing current of the river, catching it within its swirl, bears it away into the tumultuous perils of a new existence.

This new existence began with Poe's matriculation at the University of Virginia in 1826, the second session in that institution's history. That step was the first great misfor-

tune of his life, for it was to lead directly to the initial stage in his alienation from his foster father, Mr. Allan.

There is no reason to think that his stay at the University was marred by evil habits worse than those that characterized academic life everywhere in those times. If he indulged a taste for liquor or cards while a student, it did not go so far as to cause his expulsion. His success with his textbooks proves that he allowed no dissipations really to interfere with his assiduity. There was a good deal of lawlessness around him under the arcades, but this was largely due to the lax discipline which Mr. Jefferson's precepts had encouraged in the treatment of the young men. With hardly an exception, the infirmities which they disclosed were such as were to be expected in young men released from the restraints of their own homes and spurred on by the radical theories prevailing at Monticello to believe that tyranny lurked even in so mild a form of compulsion as the curriculum. Why should not the same students push that principle further and regulate their own private conduct as they thought proper; drink as many mint slings, apple toddies, and eggnogs as they could gulp down; fire off their pistols whenever and wherever they chose; and gamble away hundreds of dollars before dawn, should the humor prompt them to do it? This was the extreme logic of the doctrine that human rights should not be curtailed; and those impetuous boys, in their irrepressible vitality, were only eager to reduce that doctrine *ad absurdum.*

The worst that could be imputed to them was that there were some among them who found delight in hurling flaming crackers at a professor's door; in ringing the college bell at outrageous hours; in making the arcades reverberate to the echo of plantation songs not always chaste in diction or pure in innuendo; in giving rollicking champagne suppers at Kellar's; in driving tandems of blooded horses through the college grounds; or in resorting to a lively exchange of fisticuffs over a game of loo in a dormitory.

Poe was not dependent on his fellow-students' society for all his diversions in his hours of leisure. The country around

the University is broken on two sides by irregular ranges of mountains, really spurs of the massive Blue Ridge, which shut out the horizon on the west. Between this tall chain and the subordinate southwest chain there rises a series of broad, high-shouldered red hills. It was across the western end of these hills that Poe, accompanied only by a dog, had to pass in his frequent expeditions to the Ragged Mountains; and it was on the observations made in the course of these explorations that he founded the famous tale which has its scene in that lonely range of jagged peaks.

In the midst of his recreations even, it can be correctly asserted of him that he stood always really alone. "No one," a college mate has recorded of these college days, "could say he knew him." And the same college mate adds, "He wore a melancholy face always and even his smile,—for I do not remember ever to have seen him laugh,—seemed to be forced." The man then was precisely what he continued to be until his death: a magnetic and not a sympathetic figure; rarely seeking company, though not averse to it; but under all circumstances, at heart and in mind, solitary even when surrounded by companions of congenial tastes and similar pursuits.

The events of Poe's life after he left the University of Virginia have been so thoroughly investigated and so fully described that it will not be necessary to repeat them here in detail. We shall confine our narrative of the rest of his career to the principal influences that shaped it down to the end.

How did a fatal gulf arise between him and his foster father? The first incident in the chain of causes was Mr. Allan's unwillingness to pay the gambling debts which the young man had incurred at college. The poet afterwards claimed that it was his foster father's niggardliness in furnishing him with indispensable funds that tempted him to try his luck at cards. However that may be, the hardness of Mr. Allan, even in so trivial a matter as this, is brought out very clearly by the fact that at this time his wealth was estimated at nearly eight hundred thousand dollars. More-

over, Poe offered to return the amount by installments so soon as he should be earning an income by his own industry. Increased alienation was caused by his refusal to hold on to the clerkship which Mr. Allan had assigned him in his countinghouse. He did not disguise his resolution to leave Richmond. He was perhaps moved to consider this extreme step by mixed feelings independently of any ground of exasperation against his foster father; by an exaggerated disappointment in a love affair just closed by the young lady's marriage to a rival; by a vague sense of being generally misunderstood and unappreciated; but above all by a spirit of waywardness and unrest so often observed at that time of life.

During Poe's service in the army he seems to have kept up a correspondence with Mrs. Allan. But after her death, when he wished to resign, Mr. Allan either delayed or refused to approve, and in the end only consented on the understanding that Poe was to endeavor to obtain an appointment to a cadetship in the National Military Academy at West Point. The coldness of the intercourse between the two at this time is revealed in Mr. Allan's letter of recommendation to the Secretary of War: "I do declare that he is no relative to me whatever,—that I have many (in) whom I have taken an active interest to promote their's, with no other feeling than that every man is my care if he be in distress." The only interpretation of this letter's frigid tone at all honorable to the writer is that he wished to impress the Secretary with the fact that Edgar could entertain no tenable hope of a fortune from his guardian and that if successful in his application for the cadetship, he, like the other aspirants, would be absolutely dependent on the military profession for a livelihood.

The upshot of the future poet's connection with the Academy is known to all. Finding military discipline irksome to his real tastes, and desirous of pursuing a literary career, he conducted himself with deliberate irregularity in order to be expelled. At the moment he was aware that Mr. Allan had entered into a second marriage, a step which perma-

nently destroyed the young man's last prospect of inheriting any share of his foster father's estate.

Poe having thrown up two positions which had been obtained for him by Mr. Allan, it was altogether natural that the latter should have been indisposed to assist him in finding a third. It is to the poet's lasting honor that his references to his foster father and the second wife were always couched in language of moderation. He frankly attributed his breach with Mr. Allan chiefly to his own folly, and while he declared that the second marriage had also had much to do with their permanent estrangement, he nevertheless cast no reflections on Mrs. Allan's conduct or her motives. Whatever else may be surmised of the causes of his separation from his foster father, he is at least entitled to the credit of not having been influenced by mercenary and calculating promptings. All Poe's pecuniary interests, from the time that Mr. Allan inherited a large fortune, demanded that he should govern his behavior absolutely by the wishes of the exacting and irascible man who was his self-appointed guardian. Poe's pride did not allow this. If the fault of the original estrangement was his, the fault of the failure to be reconciled was his foster father's.

In the interval between his appointment to the editorship of the *Southern Literary Messenger* and the hour of Mr. Allan's death, he was compelled to endure such hardships from penury that his newly found friend in Baltimore, Mr. Kennedy, could say with little exaggeration that he had rescued Poe from a state of starvation. All his striving to earn a livelihood had miserably failed, in spite of the spur of absolute destitution.

Although Poe had gained a prize in the now famous literary contest resulting from a Baltimore journal's offer, his career as a man of letters really began with his contributions to the pages of the *Literary Messenger*. But for his disposition to yield to the temptation of liquor, there is no reason to doubt that he could have prolonged his connection with that periodical indefinitely, should he have desired to do so; but there were other influences that led to his break with

the owner, although intemperance was the chief one which prompted the owner's action. It was natural that Poe should have come to have a just appreciation of his own genius by this time. It was perfectly clear to him that the *Messenger's* prosperity was to be attributed to his pen. Was his whole life to be passed working successfully for others? Was there not a chance that he might be able to acquire a magazine of his own, whose increase in profitableness, through his contributions and personal management, would accrue to his sole advantage? The thought of this possibility haunted his mind from that hour to the hour of his death. Its only approach to realization is to be found in his acquisition of the short-lived *Broadway Journal.* Throughout his laborious career he remained chained to the car of other men's literary enterprises. He saw his own reputation grow until, with the publication of the "Raven," he became one of the most famous men of letters in America. Yet even with this advantage, it was only by an agonizing struggle that he was able for some years to keep the wolf from the door of his little family circle; and later on, it was only by the charity of friends that they were saved from the jaws of the poorhouse.

Poe left Richmond and settled in the city of New York; and then he left New York and settled in Philadelphia—always in pursuit of a more lucrative market for his literary wares. Narrow income, actual starvation—neither ever caused him to be disloyal to the exalted literary standard which he had set up in his mind for his own productions. Periodic intemperance degraded his personal conduct; but it never tarnished or lowered his literary ideals or even seriously impeded the application of his pen. During the early stages of his career he gave free rein to his special infirmity only after long intervals of complete abstinence; and this indulgence even then was never excessive in the length of time covered by it. In later life he was unquestionably seduced into more protracted sprees—sometimes without interruption for days—but even at that period it would not be just to speak of him as an habitual drunkard in the ordi-

nary sense. Were there no direct trustworthy evidence to uphold this general denial, it would be sustained by the amount as well as by the character of his literary work and also by the delicacy of his chirography, all of which facts are not consistent with continuous or even with very prolonged drunkenness.

In our previous biographies we have described the careers of statesmen and soldiers. These were men of action, and we tested their greatness by the character of their deeds. Poe was a man of letters. We test his greatness by the character of his compositions. He was both a critic and an imaginative writer of the very first order. Disraeli in one of his novels remarked half seriously, half jocosely, that the critics were men who had failed in art or literature. The universal pertinency of the apothegm was disproved by Poe's achievements.

What were his general characteristics as a critic? He offered one of the rare examples in literary history of a writer who possessed extraordinary capacity for analysis in conjunction with extraordinary power of imagination. Dryden and Coleridge stand in the same category with him in this respect. He was so great a critic, in spite of his preëminent success in the region of imaginative literature, that Lowell did not exaggerate in declaring Poe's analytical faculty sufficient "to furnish forth bravely some score of ordinary writers of that class." We know that he was gifted with enough procreative capacity—in other words, capacity to build up, as distinguished from the capacity to pull apart—to found several distinct schools, the principal representatives of which have not, however, improved upon the merits of the author from whom they obtained their inspiration.

In debating the question of what constitutes a great critic, Poe was in the habit of quoting with approval Bulwer's ideal of that character. First, he must have the courage to censure boldly. This trait was not wanting in Poe, who justly said of himself in a letter to Philip Pendleton Cooke, in 1839, "I have an inveterate habit of speaking the truth." Secondly, the critic must have the magnanimity to

shun envy. There is no reflection of such a vice in Poe, so far at least as the surface indicates, in any of his critical observations except those directed against Longfellow, the improper animus of which may be admitted at the very time that his charge of plagiarism, in a modified sense, against that poet is accepted as correct. Thirdly, the critic must have the genius to appreciate and the learning to compare, and also an eye for beauty, an ear for music, and a heart for feeling. Poe always added that the critic should be endowed with "a talent for analysis" and should be "indifferent to abuse."

With the possible exception of the highly responsive heart, he himself possessed all the qualities enumerated by his fellow artist—some of them, indeed, in their highest development—the capacity for appreciation, the eye for beauty, and the indifference to abuse. In a general way it may be said of him that he was gifted with the discernment to form critical opinions accurately and justly, the logical and literary power to state them in the most effective way, and the courage to express them without reserve.

The most patent error into which he fell in writing most of his reviews was overthoroughness. This was one of the consequences of his extreme conscientiousness as a man of letters. It has been remarked of him by an English student of his career "that every book presented itself to his analytical faculty as a problem to be attacked. Every book, good or bad, was a challenge to his power of analysis." This power was sometimes exhibited too emphatically in guillotining writers so devoid of merit as to be unworthy of his notice. "He often used a giant's force to crush a fly," said Dr. Woodbury. Dr. James A. Harrison varied the figure. "He used the giant spear and the mighty girdle of Brunhilda to crush infinitesimal foes." Broadaxes and tomahawks, Visigoths, and prussic acid, were suggested even to his admirers by the mordant poignancy of his critical thrusts. He seems sometimes to have resented the suggestion that his inkstand was full of prussic acid. When as a young man he was cautioned by a friendly journal that it was as damaging to his

reputation as a critic to "obtain a character for regular cutting and slashing as for indiscriminate laudation," what was his reply? "Since my education began in December last, ninety-four books have been reviewed by me. In seventy-five cases, commendation predominated over the few sentences of censure, so that every reader would pronounce them highly laudatory. In seven instances, the praise slightly prevails; in seven, the censure greatly predominates—only four decidedly and harshly condemnatory, and only one unexceptionally condemned."

The trend of the most disinterested opinion at the present time seems to be that instead of being, as formerly charged, harsh to the verge of malignity and heartlessness in his critical judgments, Poe was on the whole too lenient and too forbearing. One of his biographers is of the conviction that his reputation suffers now rather for "the mercy which he showed than for the vengeance which he took"; but this writer probably had in mind the too generous treatment which Poe always accorded to the productions of authoresses, even when he detested the writers themselves. One of his recent detractors pronounces this disposition on his part to be "uncritical chivalry."

"Griswold, in asserting that Poe's imaginative works were devoid of what the Puritan with his austere ideals termed a conscience—a sense of moral utility, which, lofty as it is in its finest manifestations, so often passes into the region of falsehood and hypocrisy—stated what was exactly true. Poe was a Greek in his view of his art. There was not only an after-smack of Helicon in the mere expression of his genius, but something essentially Hellenic in his whole literary temper. In failing to breathe into his pages the spirit of the Puritan conscience, and in suffusing those pages instead with the spirit that springs from the worship of pure beauty, he was perhaps assuring for himself some of the fame which has in the case of the Greek masters survived all the subsequent mutations and shiftings in mankind's code of ethics. It is a fame that promises still to survive when the last volume of the literature of the Puritan conscience—not even

excepting Milton's *Paradise Lost*—shall have been consigned to the unvisited shelves of molding oblivion.

"Poe concentrated his gaze upon those physical and spiritual phenomena of beauty which take no more cognizance of a thousand years than they do of one year. There is in all literature no instance of greater fidelity, not one of more adamantine loyalty, to aesthetic ideals than was presented in his literary life. This adoration of beauty in all its varied forms was his finest characteristic. It may be even said that it was his only religion. Again and again he referred to 'that divine sixth sense, the sense of the beautiful, which is yet so faintly understood,—that sense which speaks of God through his purest, if not his sole attribute; which proves, and alone proves, his existence.' 'The origin of poetry,' he declared, 'lies in a thirst for a wider beauty than earth supplies. Poetry in itself is the imperfect effort to quench the immortal thirst by novel combinations of beautiful forms; and this thirst, when even partially allayed, produces emotions to which all other human emotions are vapid and insignificant.' 'Beyond the limit of beauty,' he declared on another occasion, 'the province of poetry does not extend. Its sole arbiter is taste. With the intellect and conscience, it has only collateral relations. It has no dependence, unless incidentally, upon either duty or truth.' 'If truth was the chief object, the highest aim of art, then Jan Steen was a greater artist than Angelo; Crabbe a nobler poet than Milton.'

"But Poe's genius did not exhibit itself exclusively in incisive criticism or in poetical conceptions about which the light of a spectral or ethereal sensuousness seems to play. There is in his imaginative prose an accuracy almost mathematical in its precision; a marvelous copiousness of detail; great subtlety, great acuteness of reasoning power; extraordinary capacity for analysis. This is the more remarkable in a writer who could correctly say to himself that to dream had been the business of his life.

"In one of Poe's *Tales* imagination predominates; in the other, a clear penetrating intellect. But original as all are—

supremely artistic as are the greatest—it is a cause for regret that he should not, like Tennyson, have spent his whole genius on poetry. The literature of the whole world would be richer had he, discarding his untenable theory that all poems should be short, embodied in undying verse at length such prose masterpieces as *Ligeia*, *Eleanora*, and the *Fall of the House of Usher*. With him, poetry, as he himself said, was a passion. Had it been his only literary passion—had it absorbed all his thoughts and bounded all his efforts as a writer—he would have made not relentless enemies, but faithful friends, by the exercise of his pen. And his primacy among American authors would long ago have been acknowledged by his countrymen as universally as it was, almost from the outset of his career, acknowledged by foreign nations." [2]

[2]Quoted from the author's article, "Certain Literary Aspects of Poe," *Sewanee Review*, January, 1914.

Chapter XII

COMMODORE MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY

MAURY BELONGED to a family that could with a just pride boast of the blood of martyrs flowing in the veins of its members. He traced back to Jean de la Fontaine, who, for the zeal which he had shown in supporting the Protestant cause in his native France, was foully assassinated, along with his wife, in the course of the infamous dragonnades of Louvois. The original Maury, also a Huguenot, married a descendant of this victim of religious persecution. His family, too, had been compelled to flee secretly from the land of their ancestors, and following the path of migration pursued by so many of their fellow-countrymen of the same faith, had found a quiet asylum in the colony of Virginia.

The first of the name to rise to distinction there was the Reverend James Maury, the founder of a popular school that was attended by several pupils who attained great eminence in after life. Among them was Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence. James Maury was not simply a ripe classical scholar and skillful instructor—his influence as rector of his parish spread far through the ranks of every class which was represented in its population. It was said of him that the exploration of the vast Northwest appealed vividly to his imagination and that he foretold the discovery of a mighty river in the then unknown spaces which were afterwards found to be drained by the Missouri and its tributaries. "Mountains are there," he exclaimed, "and beyond them, there must be a stream to correspond with the vast river on this side of the chain." Among

those who attentively listened to this prophetic assertion of the enthusiastic old clergyman was his pupil, Thomas Jefferson, and doubtless the prediction was not forgotten by him when he came to commission Lewis and Clark to lead an expedition through that region to the remote shores of the Pacific. That the project had long haunted him was proved by the eagerness with which, during his mission to France, he urged Ledyard, who had been associated with Captain Cook's voyages in the South Seas, to undertake it.

Matthew Fontaine Maury was a grandson of this enlightened clergyman, and it was possibly his descent from this inquisitive ancestor that gave his mind some of the bent for physical science which made his name so famous. But whether this was true or not, in his fifth year he had practical experience of that migratory spirit which had impelled his Huguenot forefathers to cross the wide ocean and fix their seat in Virginia. At that age he accompanied his parents in their emigration to Tennessee. The means of transportation was the covered wagon, which had already conveyed so many hundreds of thousands of pioneers along the same wilderness road. The Maurys carried all their household goods with them, with the design of making a permanent settlement west of the Alleghenies; and after their arrival at the place which was finally selected, they imitated in their domestic life the example set for them by the families who had blazed the way. The women spun, wove, knitted, and cut and sewed the cloth used for garments, while the men tilled the ground and garnered the crops.

As he grew older, the youthful Matthew had a share in this work in proportion to his strength. He did not lack companionship, for this was amply furnished by the circle of his immediate family. There were altogether five sons and four daughters, in addition to the parents. The social life of the neighborhood was, however, narrowed and impoverished by the sparseness of the population. The means of intercourse beyond the threshold of the home was also limited, for the only public highways were bridle paths and farm roads. No steamboat as yet plied even in the large

streams, and no stage coaches were run to accommodate the passing travelers. There were few schoolhouses to draw pupils together from a considerable area of country under one roof. The church edifices alone attracted a general congregation of neighbors.

But to an active and alert boy like Matthew Maury the routine of this existence was not monotonous, in spite of its isolation, for when he was not engaged in the performance of farm duties or in the mastery of his studies, he was amusing himself with the pursuit of game in the woods and fields, with fishing in the local streams, or with riding far and wide through the country on horseback. In his twelfth year he had fallen from a tree, to the severe injury of his tongue and back, a circumstance which led to his receiving from his father more privileges of schooling, since he was for the time being too seriously disabled to continue his usual physical exertions on the farm. "My first ambition to become a mathematician," he has recorded with evident amusement, "was excited by an old cobbler, who lived not far from my father's house, and who used to send the shoes home to his customers with the soles all scratched over with little x's and y's."

Maury's choice of a profession was suggested to him by the romantic career of his eldest brother. John Maury had, when a youth of thirteen, entered the United States Navy as a midshipman, and, while serving on furlough as first officer of a merchant ship trading in the South Seas, had during the War of 1812-15 been blockaded for a period of two years on one of the islands of the Marquesas group. When finally rescued, he was found living in the top of a palm tree with the only other survivor of the original company. When the two ships to which he owed his escape left their anchorage on their homeward voyage, one was overhauled by several British frigates, which caught up with her as she wallowed in the sea entirely crippled by a sudden squall. The other vessel, which had John Maury and his companion on board, got away and reached the United States in safety. Maury was soon ordered to join the *Epervior*, but the day before his arrival at Norfolk, she sailed and was never again

heard of. He next participated in the victory on Lake Champlain, and as flag captain of the fleet under Captain Porter was actively instrumental in suppressing the pirates of the West Indies. At thirty he died of yellow fever as his vessel was approaching the Capes of Virginia.

The unhappy fate of his brother did not chill the youthful Matthew's aspiration to follow in his footsteps. In the course of the year after that brother's fatal illness, he obtained through the influence of General Houston, then a member of Congress from Tennessee, a midshipman's warrant in the United States Navy. He was now only nineteen years of age, perhaps the chief reason that his father was opposed to his leaving home. With the view of deterring the boy, the elder Maury even went so far as to refuse to supply the money needed for his outfit and traveling expenses. But Maury had laid aside thirty dollars of his own earning while an assistant teacher, and having borrowed a horse of one of the neighbors, he set out for Virginia, where he arrived with only fifty cents in his pocket. He was received there by his kinsmen with great cordiality and affection. In one of their hospitable households he met his future wife for the first time. She was then in her thirteenth year, and nine years were to pass before they were married.

One of Maury's first acts, after his arrival in Virginia, was to sell the horse which had borne him so far on his journey and remit the sum obtained for it to the helpful owner in Tennessee.

The future commodore's first experience in his new profession was an exacting one, for at this time the Naval Academy had not been founded and the young officer began his career by climbing up the side of his ship and plunging at once into the rough routine duties of the deck and cabin. Maury used every moment at his disposal to increase his knowledge of navigation, mathematics, and foreign languages. His studious habits drew to him the attention of Lafayette on board the *Brandywine*, for the young sailor was attached to that vessel when the French hero returned on it to France, after his last visit to the United States.

Maury's next assignment was to the sloop of war *Vincennes*, which gave him the opportunity to make a voyage around the world. In the course of this voyage his ship touched at the Marquesas, where his brother had passed several years in the primitive state of the aborigines. The old chief who had befriended John Maury was anxious to adopt the young officer. Matthew was next appointed to the rank of sailing master of the sloop of war *Falmouth*, which was about to set out on a cruise that was expected to last for a period of four years. It was during this cruise, which offered so much variety in climate, weather, and sea currents, that the first conception of his wind and current charts entered his thoughtful mind. Naturally, in beginning so long a voyage, his meditations were directed to this subject, since it was of immediate practical importance to one in his situation; and he was disconcerted to find that there were no such charts in existence.

His earliest contribution to scientific knowledge was a paper descriptive of the low barometer off Cape Horn, which he had studied in passing that remote and dangerous point. By the time that he returned to the United States, he had completed a work on navigation, and although only a passed midshipman in rank, which seemed to make his purpose presumptuous, he determined to publish the manuscript at once. This he was successful in doing at no expense to himself through a firm in Philadelphia. Had it been necessary to draw on his own means at this hour, the manuscript would have remained indefinitely in his trunk. So limited were his resources while negotiating with the printers in Philadelphia that he was compelled to find shelter in a garret and to subsist on cheese and crackers. The volume was soon adopted as a textbook in the United States Navy.

Although Maury was now married and the father of a daughter, he applied for and obtained the position of astronomer and hydrographer of the South Sea Exploring Expedition, then fitting out under the command of Commodore Catesby Jones. To increase his efficiency he took lessons in the use of the telescope, transit instrument, and theodolite,

PLATE XV. *From a photograph made in Austin, Texas. Photo Cook.*
COMMODORE MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY

but the reorganization of the expedition under another officer seems to have deprived him of his original place in it, for in the end he was assigned to the duty of surveying the principal harbors of the South. An accident that caused a fracture of his leg disabled him from active service at sea. At first this appeared to be an unrelieved misfortune, but as it gave him an opening for scientific work on land, for which he was highly fitted, it turned out to be an event of the happiest influence on his reputation.

In 1839 the publication of a series of articles in advocacy of naval reform made so deep an impression that he was seriously considered for the office of secretary of the navy. Among the memorable predictions which he put forward in these papers were: that steam would take the place of sails as the motive power of men-of-war; that little ships would in time displace big ships, and big guns, little guns; and that ultimately no fighting vessels would carry more than six of these guns. In other articles he recommended the establishment of a great naval school. This was the origin of the present naval academy at Annapolis. He also suggested the erection of a second Gibraltar at Pensacola and a dock and navy yard at Memphis. This city under his plan was to be united to the Great Lakes by a canal from the Illinois River to Lake Michigan, of sufficient depth to float men-of-war.

That Maury's attention was already deeply engaged with the currents of the sea as bearing upon the science of navigation was revealed in an address, "On the Gulf Stream and Its Causes," which he delivered before the President and his cabinet and the whole diplomatic corps at the capital. So profound was the impression which he had already made by his contributions to oceanic science that he was placed in charge of the Depot of Charts and Instruments at Washington. It was this bureau which under his superintendence expanded into the celebrated National Observatory and Hydrographical Department of the United States. He had not yet reached the end of his thirty-sixth year, but he had already been in the government's service during a period of seventeen years.

So pleased were the merchants of Boston with the first of the series of charts which he now began to publish that they offered the sum of fifty thousand dollars for the equipment of a vessel whose sole object should be to seek for the best routes, hitherto unknown, through seas most frequented by ships of commerce. While the charts were appearing one by one, they aroused the keen interest of the maritime powers of Europe, who were even more benefited by the new information furnished about the ocean currents than the people of the United States.

How was this knowledge obtained? There was a vast number of old logbooks stored away in the Hydrographic Department, deposited there by naval officers and, before Maury's day, looked upon as so much waste paper. He early perceived the real value of these discarded and moldering documents. He had them minutely examined and all the information about sea currents which they contained collated. As each chart was issued, based on the observations of the sea captains of the past and on the observations of living shipmasters who had been invited to report what they had noticed, copies were sent to all American vessels bound out for foreign harbors, with the request that each vessel should make a daily record of the weather and ocean currents encountered. A zealous spirit of coöperation with Maury was thus aroused among American seafarers, who faithfully forwarded to him, sometimes from remote corners of the globe, abstracts of the minutes of their voyages. "I am happy to contribute my mite," wrote Captain Phinny in 1855, from South American waters, "towards furnishing you with material to work out, still further towards perfection, your great and glorious task, not only of pointing out the most speedy routes for ships to follow over the ocean, but also teaching us sailors to look about us and recognize the wonderful manifestations of the wisdom and goodness of God by which we are constantly surrounded."

There were many astonishing proofs of the utility and accuracy of Maury's sailing directions. "On February 14th, 1852," we learn from the *San Francisco Times* of that date,

"two first class ships, the *Governor Morton* and the *Prima Donna*, sailed together from the port of New York. They were towed outside Sandy Hook side by side, so near to each other that conversation was carried on by the two commanders. The racing vessels crossed the Equator in the Atlantic ocean on the same day, and came out of that ocean the same day; they crossed the Equator in the Pacific on the same day, and in the same longitude. Both ships arrived within three hours of each other, after a race of 16,000 miles. These facts prove the reliance which may be placed upon wind and current charts of Lieutenant Maury, whose sailing directions both vessels followed."

But it was in the reduction in the outlay for freight that the most perceptible benefit was obtained. The previous rate to South America, China, and the East Indies, per ton, per day, was calculated at fifteen cents. In 1864 the quantity of the American shipments to those countries was about one million tons per annum. After the appearance of the sailing directions it was estimated that the voyage to each was shortened at least fifteen days. This signified that American exporters, in transporting their merchandise to these remote peoples, had effected a saving of nearly two million and a half dollars in the course of every twelve months, a very large sum at that time in proportion to the value of the cargo. This applied to the outward voyage alone and only to the vessels of one nation. The saving to English vessels was even more important. This was estimated at £250 for every one-hundred-ton ship. If the voyage extended to California or Australia, the saving amounted to twelve hundred, or even to thirteen hundred, pounds sterling. The free trade policy of England, unlike the protective policy of the United States, always assured a return cargo, which made the profits brought about by the sailing directions still more impressive in volume. The United States Government was so much encouraged by these results that it authorized Maury to obtain the coöperation of the European nations in the establishment of a marine system of meteorological research. This was to be accomplished by the government ships of those

Powers returning to him the record of their daily observations at sea touching the temperature of the water and air and the direction of wind and current. The compensation for this aid was to be the gift of copies of the charts and sailing instructions as they were issued.

It is an evidence of Maury's fidelity to detail that he requested each of these navigators to drop a bottle into the ocean at regular intervals, with a memorandum of the latitude and longitude and the day of the month and the year securely corked inside. Whenever such a bottle was seen floating on the surface of the water by a shipmaster, it was to be picked up, opened, and a note made of its contents, as well as of the longitude and latitude in which it was found. By these apparently simple means Maury is said to have collected millions of observations on the force and direction of the winds and the set of the currents in all the seven seas. These were carefully tabulated under his supervision, and the results permanently preserved in his charts and sailing directions. It is stated that they contributed to the safety and profitableness of nine-tenths of the world's shipping by shortening the voyages and by disclosing the zones of greatest maritime peril.

Not the least valuable of Maury's services in accumulating these oceanic data was that they also conveyed accurate information as to the movements of sperm whales from season to season. The ships in search of them sailed directly to their feeding waters without the previous delay of a long hunt for their presence. "By his ability and enthusiasm in the cause in which he has been engaged," remarked Secretary Dobbin of the Navy Department in 1855, "Lieutenant Maury has not only added to the honor of his country, but saved millions of dollars for his countrymen."

The *Physical Geography of the Sea and its Meteorology*, his next volume, as charming for its style as it was informative for its novel facts, summed up his noble contribution to our knowledge of the ocean. It was commended with unstinted enthusiasm by great scientists like Humboldt and Quetolet; it passed through twenty editions in England

alone; and it was translated into the French, Dutch, Swedish, Spanish, and Italian languages. At his suggestion a congress of the principal nations of the world was held in 1853, in Brussels, for the still greater development of meteorological research. As the first step, investigating boards and a uniform system of observations were recommended for joint action by all the countries represented. "Rarely," said Maury at the time, "has there been such a sublime spectacle presented to the scientific world before. All nations have agreed to unite and coöperate in carrying out, according to the same plan, one system of philosophical research with regard to the sea. Though they may be enemies in all else, here they are friends. Every ship that navigates the high seas, with these charts and blank abstract logs on board, may henceforth be regarded as a floating observatory—a temple of science." Maury was honored after the close of the congress by election to membership in all the great scientific associations of Europe; medals, commemorative of his achievements, were struck off; he was offered orders of knighthood; and he was proclaimed by the foremost men of the age to be the founder of a new science. Humboldt, now in his ninetieth year, in a letter which he wrote to Maury, congratulated his "illustrious friend upon the course which has so gloriously opened."

Maury had some years before thrown out the recommendation that the same general system of meteorological observation should be extended to the land. He now visited numerous Southern and Western communities, and earnestly advised the farmers there to collect daily data about the weather, as the sea captains had done, so that a central office, receiving this data would be able to telegraph all over the country reliable warnings against approaching storms and frosts. This proposal, which has led to the establishment of another great department of the national government, was afterwards carried further than he at this time supposed it could be. Trained observers are now assigned to all parts of the Union, whose duty it is to furnish daily information as to the state of the weather in their respective

regions of the country. Maury had called the new science, as far as it applied to the land, agricultural meteorology, but it has promoted, if not the pecuniary advantage, certainly the personal convenience, of the members of every calling.

In the course of his researches about the winds and currents of the ocean Maury had become interested in the subject of deep sea soundings. Was there a level plateau under the waters that spread from Newfoundland to Ireland? If there was, the planting of a cable between the United States and the British Islands would be entirely practicable. Maury was convinced that there was such a plateau, but complete proof of its existence did not become assured until Passed Midshipman John Mercer Brooke invented the deep sea sounding apparatus, which enables a plummet to strike bottom, and in doing so, to detach the line, with a specimen of the ocean sediment to be brought up to the surface. A survey of the sea's abysses in the long lane to Ireland was thus made possible. The result showed conclusively that a submarine telegraph could be laid along the bottom, as the waters nowhere went down too far for its practical working. "It is neither too deep nor too shallow," said Maury, "yet it is so deep that the wires, but once landed, will remain forever beyond the reach of the anchors of vessels, icebergs, and drifts of any kind; and so shallow that they may be readily lodged upon the bottom. The advantage of the site was increased by the fact that the soundings revealed that the waters at the bottom were undisturbed by waves or currents; and that the bottom itself was free from sand or ooze." An additional proof of Maury's prescience is his advice that the cable should not be made in the form of an "iron rope as large as a man's arm as suggested, but of a single copper wire or fascicle of wires, coated with gutta percha, pliant and supple, and not larger than a lady's finger."

In 1858 a dinner was given in New York City to celebrate the arrival of the first message across the Atlantic. Cyrus W. Field was the spokesman of the occasion. "I am a man of few words," he said. "Maury furnished the brains; England gave the money; and I did the work."

Maury possessed the Napoleonic capacity for mastering details, associated with the Napoleonic power of imagination. He had, however, a still higher quality than either of these. That quality was personal disinterestedness. It was justly said of him "that he never sought to benefit himself by his arduous labors or to make pecuniary profit out of his researches. His sole object was to benefit mankind at large." "Some papers of his upon the advantages of a route to the East by way of the Isthmus of Panama attracted much attention," General Dabney H. Maury tells us. "I was with him one morning when he opened his mail. He handed to me to read a letter from a Northern firm, enclosing a cheque for $500, in token of approbation of his views, which were strongly promotive of the interests of their business. He was asked to continue his advocacy of that route, with the assurance that the enclosure was a mere earnest of what they would pay for it! 'Please to look at this,' he said, 'these people seem to think money the chief object of all endeavor.' He returned the cheque at once in a courteous note of thanks because he could not admit personal interest into his discussions of measures for the general good of the people."

The menacing political clouds that foreshadowed the War of 1861-65 were observed by Maury with ever increasing apprehension. His entire professional life had been given up, with conspicuous devotion and success, to the service of the United States. His fame was not confined to his native state. It was the common possession of all the states in their national character. During his whole previous career he had probably never harbored, even in moments of exasperation—caused by occasional disparagement of his work in the Navy Department—a single thought of disloyalty to the Federal Government.

His position as the head of the National Observatory was precisely in harmony with his scientific tastes. It met every wish, every aspiration of his mind. Never was he more useful in his contributions to the fund of scientific knowledge. Never had he been doing so much to promote the welfare, not only of his own country, but also of mankind at large.

To withdraw from the service of the national government would be to abandon the work in which his interest was so deeply enlisted. This, he knew, would entail a heavy sacrifice of his own personal happiness and material well-being; and yet, even before he was called on to make the decision, he was clearly aware that there would be no alternative for him to pursue when the hour for that decision should actually arrive. But this anticipation only prompted him to put forth the more energetically all the influence at his command to stave off the looming rupture between the two great divisions of the Union. In January, 1860, before the war had begun, he wrote in earnest and appealing language to the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware, in the hope that they "would throw themselves in the breach and stop the fratricidal strife." But it was too late to raise effective barriers against the onrushing flood; and in the end he felt constrained to offer his resignation.

Hardly had this fact become known when he was urged by the Grand Duke Constantine, as Grand Admiral of Russia, to take up his permanent residence in that country and there continue his "favorite and useful occupations." "We have been taught," he wrote, "to honor, in your person, disinterested and eminent services to science and mankind." France sent him a similar invitation. The French minister, accompanied by the Prussian envoy, visited him in person to bid farewell, as he said, "to the philosopher and man of science who had given up all, everything he had, save honor, at the call of his native State in her trouble."

The service which he performed for the Confederacy has had a distinct influence on the naval history of all subsequent wars. The Federal Secretary of the Navy, a few months before the struggle for Southern independence ended, acknowledged that his side in the conflict had lost "more vessels by torpedoes than from all other causes whatever." That this was so was chiefly attributable to the genius of Maury.

At first his advice to the Confederate authorities to employ this means of defense on a great scale was received with shortsighted coldness; but having demonstrated to the Con-

federate Secretary of the Navy and the Chairman of the Committee of Naval Affairs in the Confederate Congress, by a visible experiment, the entire feasibility of his plan, he was granted permission to lay a mine in that section of the James River which was situated not far from the last defense on land. At this hour, when he was preparing to adopt the same means of destroying the enemy's intruding gunboats in all the great streams of the Southern states open to naval invasion, he was instructed to leave for Europe in order to purchase material for the manufacture of torpedoes. This mission could have been easily carried out by an officer of less importance at that critical moment. How successful was his method of defending Richmond is revealed in the fact that the Federal fleets, until the arrival of Grant's army in the last year of the war, were afraid to attempt the passage of the stream as far as the point on its surface from which Richmond could have been bombarded.

On his arrival in England Maury used all the large resources at hand there in perfecting the torpedo and facilitating its use as an actual thunderbolt of war. In the spring of 1865 he was ordered by the Confederate Secretary of the Navy to return to Richmond. When his vessel reached the West Indies, from which quarter he had designed to run the blockade along the Carolina coast, he received the not unexpected news that the Confederate Government had fallen, that Davis was a prisoner, and that Lincoln had been assassinated. He now turned his steps towards Havana. From this city he wrote to the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico for employment and followed up his letter by going on to the nearest Mexican port, with the intention of repeating the written offer of his services to that monarch in person.

This offer was accepted. Maury thought that it would be practicable to establish a settlement of Virginians and other Southerners in Mexico, and his plan to encourage their immigration received the Emperor's warm approval. He was appointed Imperial Commissioner for Colonization, and he was authorized to hold out the strongest inducements to his old compatriots to rebuild their homes among the Mexicans.

But he soon discovered that there was small hope for the complete realization of his scheme, since little sympathy with it was shown by the people whom he was so anxious to influence. General Lee expressed himself strongly in opposition to the proposed change of country, and other men of position in the South took the same emphatic ground against it. Even his wife, who was still in Virginia, fell in with his plan with a heavy heart.

As a matter of fact, there was no magic in the word Mexico for the former Confederates. They very correctly thought that the condition of the South under the North's dominion could hardly be worse than the condition of the land of the Aztecs, should its revolutionary leaders return to power. It was not now expected that the reign of Maximilian, with its good order, could continue long with the open hostility of the United States likely at any moment to take the form of direct military intervention. So soon as the French army withdrew, practically by command of the government at Washington, the situation of Maximilian became precarious in the extreme. In the meanwhile, Maury had been called to London to meet the members of his recently arrived family, and while there he was informed by the Emperor by letter that the Department of Immigration had been abolished. His stay in Mexico, which was not taken up again after this event, had produced at least one lasting result. While there, he had been instrumental in introducing on a large scale the cultivation of the species of chinchona tree which yielded febrifuge.

His departure from that country was perhaps the salvation of his life, for in the course of the following year Maximilian was defeated in battle, captured, and shot. Maury might have suffered the same fate had he been on the ground, since his scheme of colonization had been looked upon with deep distrust by the Mexican people at large. So great had been the weight of all the hardships, anxieties, and disappointments which he had passed through during the years since he had last seen his family, that when he met his youngest daughter in London, she was much shocked by his

altered appearance, and exclaimed incredulously, "This is not my papa. This is an old man with a white beard."

He was almost penniless, as his property in the United States had melted away, and his savings, deposited in an English bank, had been lost by its bankruptcy. When his condition became known, a purse of 3,000 guineas was presented to him at a banquet given him by a large and distinguished company of subscribers. He also received profitable employment from the French Government, which was anxious that a carefully selected board of officers should be trained by him in his methods of sea mining; and during some of the experiments, the French Emperor was present and exploded the torpedoes with his own hand. Later on Maury established a school of instruction in the use of electric torpedoes in London, and the course was attended by a large number of English, Swedish, Dutch, and other foreign officers.

Appreciation of his scientific achievements was shown at this time by the University of Cambridge in conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Alfred Tennyson was honored with the same degree on the same occasion.

In 1868 a general amnesty was proclaimed by the United States Government, and this enabled Maury to return to Virginia. In spite of the invitation which the Emperor of the French extended to him to take charge of the Imperial Observatory at Paris, he decided to accept the chair of meteorology at the Virginia Military Institute, to which he had been called by the unanimous vote of its Board of Visitors. The presence of General Lee in Lexington is said to have largely influenced him to make his home there. He removed thither in the spring of 1869, four years after the end of the war, where he remained up to his death at the close of another four years. Throughout this interval Maury's mind was filled with schemes for the improvement of his native state's general condition. He was especially interested in the development of Norfolk into the chief American port for the shipment of the grain of the Northwest to foreign countries. He also made a meteorological survey of Virginia,

which he hoped would be useful in increasing the knowledge of her varied resources and in encouraging the introduction of European settlers. In addition, he promoted by every means in his power the adoption of a wiser system of local agriculture.

While he was delivering a series of lectures to advance this last purpose, which took him away from his family and exposed him to the debilitating vicissitudes of travel, his health began to exhibit symptoms of rapid decline. Returning home, he was compelled to find refuge from his physical weakness in bed, where he lingered for several months. As his last hour approached, he said to his devoted son, Colonel Richard L. Maury, "Are my feet growing cold? Do I drag my anchors?" Told that this was the case, he replied calmly and clearly, "All's well." When he was asked by his wife for permission to bury him in Richmond, where she herself expected to be interred, he answered, "Very well, my dear. Then let my body remain here until the spring, and when you take me through the Goshen Pass, you must pluck the rhododendrons and the mountain ivy and lay them upon me."

Chapter XIII

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

General Robert E. Lee was the most famous member of a very famous family. He was the son of Light-Horse Harry Lee, who acquired a brilliant reputation as a fearless cavalry leader in the Revolutionary War and as a member of Congress, member of the Convention of 1778, and Governor of Virginia. It was he who drafted the felicitous resolutions of Congress which eulogized Washington as "first in war; first in peace; and first in the hearts of his countrymen." No other officer in the Southern campaign won more renown for gallantry, skill, and celerity than he, although the region in which he operated still resounded with the story of the dashing exploits of Sumter and Marion. So keen was his martial ardor that he was extolled by one of the greatest of his military contemporaries as a hero "who seemed to have come out of his mother's womb a soldier."

Light-Horse Harry's devotion to his native state foreshadowed the principal influence which governed his famous son in his decision at the beginning of the War of 1861-65. "Virginia is my country," the father exclaimed as a member of the General Assembly of 1798-99, when the Alien and Sedition Laws were under discussion. "Her will I obey, however lamentable the fate to which it may subject me." And subsequently he said that "no consideration on earth could induce him to act a part, however gratifying to him, which could be construed into disregard or faithlessness to this commonwealth." And yet he proved how strong was his sense of duty to the country at large by accepting the command

of the troops sent against the rebels of Pennsylvania and by his offer to take the lead in resisting the invasion of Virginia by the British during the War of 1812-15.

Through his mother, Anne Carter, General Robert E. Lee was sprung directly from Robert Carter, known as "King" Carter, in consequence of his vast landed possessions, numerous slaves and indentured servants, aristocratic deportment, and extraordinary political influence. His descendants had intermarried with the principal families of the colony—the Lees, Fitzhughs, Burwells, Beverleys, Pages, Randolphs, Harrisons, and others of equal social eminence. Several of the most beautiful and imposing homes in Virginia belonged to persons of his blood—Corotoman, Nomini, Cleve, Sabine Hall, and Shirley.

General Lee was born at Stratford in Westmoreland County, which had already given birth to Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Light-Horse Harry Lee, and James Monroe. It was a typical colonial residence of the most solid order, suggesting in its furniture, silver plate, portraits, and classical volumes a long train of vivid memories of the Colonial and Revolutionary past. There were still to be observed in the surrounding country the customs and sports which the local gentry had inherited from their English ancestors. Here and at Shirley, his mother's home before her marriage, General Lee as a boy cultivated a taste for all the open air diversions which characterized that period—riding, fishing, shooting, hunting. He thus acquired a stock of health which sustained him, in spite of the heavy drain on his strength, during the exposure and anxiety of the Mexican War and the War of 1861-65. It was said of him that in consequence of these youthful associations and experiences, "he retained to the last his skill in horsemanship, his love of animals, his interest in trees and plants, his discriminating eye for landscapes, and his sound judgment in detecting the lay of ground, which served him so well in the course of his defensive campaigns."

Another trait of his matured character was doubtless fostered by the impressions of these early years—a trait which

was influential in no small measure in shaping his decision when he resigned from the army of the United States and threw in his destiny with that of his native state: his loyalty to all the claims of kinship. Owing to the wide ramifications of the Lee family, few persons in Virginia could claim a larger number of cousins, and this tie he never omitted to recognize and to honor. By his marriage to Mary Custis, the great-granddaughter of Martha Washington, he very much enlarged his circle of kinsmen and also added to the historic distinction of his own name. It was through this marriage that General Lee's life became associated with the noble mansion that still looks down upon the Potomac from the heights of Arlington. It brought him as a young man in the shadow of Washington's illustrious name and identified him still more closely with all that was loftiest and most interesting in the social history of his native state.

It was natural that young Lee's earliest thought of a profession should have turned to arms. His father, as we have mentioned, had been one of the most distinguished officers in the Revolutionary War. In the course of that war he had served directly under the eye of Washington and Greene and had won the commendation of both. When, therefore, the son, accompanied by Mrs. Lewis, the famous Nellie Custis of Mount Vernon, presented himself to President Jackson at the White House and asked to be appointed to a cadetship at the Military Academy at West Point, the request was received with hearty sympathy and approval by the sturdy old soldier, who had not forgotten his own rough experiences in that Southern campaign, so closely associated with the honored name of Lee.

Robert Lee remained at the Military Academy during the normal term of four years, and throughout that extended period he incurred not a single demerit, so correct was his general conduct, and so observant was he of the military regulations of the great school. His personal popularity was so general, he was selected to perform the duties of corps adjutant; and he pursued the studies required of him with such assiduity, he was graduated near the head of his class. He

was soon appointed to the engineer corps, made up of men who had carried off the highest honors of their respective classes. To this body was entrusted the care of the coast defenses and those fortifications in the interior which commanded situations of great strategic importance.

Lieutenant Lee, who had recently married, was in the beginning of his active military career stationed at Fortress Monroe. Subsequently he was employed in surveying the boundary line between Ohio and Michigan and in erecting a permanent system of dykes opposite St. Louis that would restore the Mississippi River to its original bed. The last military service which he performed before the declaration of war against Mexico was to strengthen the defenses of Fort Hamilton in the vicinity of New York City. The record which he achieved in that war was to have a decisive influence on his after-career, for it was the reputation which he won in its course that led to his receiving high command on the threshold of the War of 1861-65. His duties as one of the officers of the engineers in the American army which invaded Mexican territory were of a varied nature: he assisted in selecting the exact site for the line of battle; in choosing positions for the placement of batteries; in drafting maps of the region already occupied by the forces; in planning and in building bridges for the passage of troops; and in collecting all the information possible that would be useful to the commander in chief, whether he was advancing or retreating. The corps of engineers were also required to lead the way so soon as the order had been given to the troops to move forward in the path which the corps had previously inspected.

It was in reconnaissance that Captain Lee exhibited the greatest daring and skill. While the American army under Taylor was engaged in the campaign which ended in the victory of Buena Vista, it was rumored that Santa Anna had crossed an intervening chain of mountains about twenty miles away and at the head of a large force was quietly descending the eastern slope, in the hope of taking the American troops by surprise. Captain Lee was instructed to find

out whether this report was correct, and an escort of cavalry was chosen to meet him at a place not far off. When this escort failed to appear, Lee, with a Mexican guide of doubtful loyalty to the American cause, set off to carry out the mission assigned to him. After a long ride, during which he was constantly exposed to the danger of attack, he ascertained that Santa Anna's army had not yet made its way to the eastern side of the mountains. Returning the same day to the American camp, he at once placed himself at the head of a large body of cavalry and, marching again far beyond the end of his first route, he did not pause until the exact location of the Mexican army had been discovered.

Lee was afterwards detached from Taylor's force and transferred to the force of General Scott, who was soon to land his troops at Vera Cruz, as the first step in the advance on the Mexican capital. The siege of Vera Cruz ended in its capture, a success chiefly attributable to the skill with which the batteries, under the direction of the corps of engineers, had been placed. Captain Lee bore a conspicuous part in this operation.

The first serious resistance to the progress of the American troops was encountered at the Pass of Cerro Gordo. In the beginning, owing to the Mexican artillery's advantageous position in the gap, and on the near-by heights, it seemed to be impossible to break through. The American army halted in the hope that a bypath would be found for the dispatch of a strong detachment to attack in the Mexican rear. With a company of pioneers Captain Lee set out promptly to discover this mountain trail, should one really exist. After surmounting extraordinary obstacles in the search, he succeeded in finding a pathway which had been left undefended. The next day, while the American batteries were bombarding the Mexican intrenchments in the pass from a hill which had been captured, Captain Lee, accompanied by a brigade, marched over the mountains by the newly discovered route, in order to block the road that ran from Cerro Gordo to the City of Mexico. Informed of this movement towards their rear, and pressed by the continuous

firing in their front, the enemy precipitately abandoned their works, leaving behind their cannon, ammunition, and most of their small arms, and retreated along the road leading to the capital.

In August the top of the central chain of mountains was reached by the American army. No stiff opposition was offered by the enemy to its advance until the City of Mexico was in sight. A vigorous resistance was then made, especially by batteries planted above the highway that connected the Hacienda of San Antonio with the suburbs of the capital. It became necessary to silence them before the capital itself could be seized. Could their position be turned? Only in case there should be a path through an extensive lava tract known as the Pedregal, which was situated in its front. Captain Lee volunteered to explore the intricacies of this volcanic field; and in the end he was successful in discovering a narrow mule track through the great blocks. This led first to a small road which, in turn, debouched into a great highway connecting the city of Mexico with the Southwest provinces. Unless strongly defended by the enemy, the second highway would enable an American force—after passing the lava beds and the first small road—to creep around towards the left and ultimately to plant itself in the rear of the Mexican batteries at the Hacienda.

When the first road was entered, it was found to be occupied by six thousand Mexican troops. Undaunted, the American force engaged in the maneuver traversed an angle of the lava tract and captured the village of Contreras. But it could not be held without additional men, and these could be obtained only by sending a messenger at night through a torrential rain, across the field of lava. Captain Lee volunteered to carry the message. Unescorted, and threatened at every step with capture by roving bands of Mexicans, he made his way on foot in the darkness over those intricate and desolate masses of volcanic rock, delivered the communication to General Scott, and returned to Contreras, again alone, the same night. Scott afterwards described Captain Lee's double passage of the Pedregal by night as "the great-

est feat of physical and moral courage performed by any individual in my knowledge pending the campaign."

The battles of Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec followed. In the course of these battles, Lee continued to execute military services of extraordinary value. At Chapultepec he was so severely wounded that he was compelled to withdraw from the field. He had by this time been promoted to the rank of colonel.

With Chapultepec the war virtually ended. On several occasions Scott was heard to assert that his success in Mexico "was largely due to the skill, valor, and undaunted energy of Robert E. Lee." It was said of his part in that war that although he was only a subordinate officer, he displayed the same characteristics which afterwards won for him so much celebrity in the War of 1861-65, namely, "quick perception, fertility in expedients, sound judgment, energy, audacity, and perfect intrepidity." In addition to the practical knowledge of the military art which he obtained in these campaigns, he formed an accurate impression of the capacity of the different generals who subsequently confronted him on the battlefields of Virginia, namely, McClellan, Pope, Hooker, Meade, and Grant. His familiarity with McClellan's characteristics especially is known to have been a factor of great importance in his various maneuvers against that antagonist.

During several years, beginning in 1856, Colonel Lee was engaged in keeping down the Indian marauders who infested a large part of Texas. The task was not congenial to his tastes. "The poor creatures," he said, "are not worth the trouble they give to man and horse." In the end he was appointed to the command of the department, in succession to Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, who had been placed in charge of the expedition to be sent against the Mormons in Utah. Happening to be sojourning on furlough at his home at Arlington when the John Brown raid took place, Colonel Lee was ordered by the government to go to Harper's Ferry with a squad of marines and suppress the insurrection. This he succeeded in doing before the little band of fanatics could

inflict any serious damage on the unsuspecting community. This wanton attack by Brown was the first clap of thunder to give warning that an armed conflict between the Northern and Southern people was about to begin.

When President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling upon each state of the Union to furnish its quota of a force of seventy-five thousand men to put down the movement for separation started by South Carolina, Virginia adopted an ordinance of secession and summoned all her citizens to her defense. Among those who responded was Colonel Lee. What were the motives which led him to take this momentous step? Was he influenced by property interests? The first effect of his act was to make it necessary for him to abandon Arlington, his family's beautiful home, owing to its proximity to Washington, the seat of the Federal Government. It was reasonable enough for him at this hour to expect that, in the vicissitudes of war, it would be destroyed by torch or cannon ball. He deliberately exposed himself to the chance of becoming a homeless wanderer, should the conflict in the end turn against the Confederate cause. To avoid this possible upshot, all that he had to do was to withdraw to private life and remain quietly within the Federal lines until the contest was over.

Was his aim to preserve his ownership in slaves? Long before hostilities were even threatened, he had set free the bondsmen whom he had inherited, and as executor of Mr. Custis's estate he had arranged for the liberation of all the Negroes who, but for her father's will, would have descended to his wife.

Did he anticipate that he would be appointed to a higher military rank under the Confederate Government than under the Federal? At the hour of his resignation he enjoyed the reputation of being the most promising officer in the regular army, and the respect for his military ability was so great that the command of the Federal forces was offered to him indirectly by a representative of the Federal administration. He had only to express his willingness to accept the position, and all the chances of military success, to be followed in that

PLATE XVI. *From an old etching. Fridenberg Galleries.*

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

case quite certainly in the end by the presidency, would at once open up before him. In resigning his commission, he felt only an emotion of sadness. "My husband," wrote Mrs. Lee to General Scott, "has wept tears of blood." "I can contemplate," he himself said, "no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union. I am willing to sacrifice everything but honor for its preservation."

A few months before the secession of Virginia took place, Colonel Lee expressed doubt as to the South's constitutional right to pursue such an extreme course, but in 1866, when questioned by a committee of Congress, he declared that he had joined the Confederates because the act of Virginia, "in withdrawing herself from the Union, carried him along with it as one of her citizens." "I and my people," he added, "considered the act of the State legitimate, and that the seceding States were merely using their reserved rights, which they had a legal right to do." "I fought against the people of the North," he said after the war was over, "because I believed that they were seeking to wrest from the people of the South their dearest rights." His decision was largely shaped by other impressions also. "With all my devotion to the Union, and feeling of loyalty and duty as an American citizen," he wrote his sister at the time, "I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home."

On April 23, Lee, who had been commissioned a general, took command of the troops of his native state, to which he had been appointed almost as soon as his resignation was announced. He promptly adopted every available means to ensure a successful resistance to the expected Federal invasion. The volunteers who responded to the military summons were formed by him into companies and regiments, carefully drilled, and then sent off to the front. While he was thus engaged, the capital of the Confederacy was removed from Montgomery to Richmond, and in a short time the War Department, now established in the latter city, took steps to consolidate the Virginia troops with the army at large. This caused Lee's displacement from command for the

time being. During the interval that followed he performed valuable service as the military adviser of President Davis.

The situation of the government at Richmond at this hour was not so advantageous as that of the government at Washington. The Federal Government had been a working organization during two-thirds of a century—especially in the vital departments of war and the treasury—and was prepared for immediate action. Every agency of administration necessary for its conquest of the South was already in existence. On the other hand, the Confederate Government had to be framed from top to bottom. Every one of its instruments was new and untried. Next, in size of population, the states that remained in the Union exceeded by thirteen millions those that withdrew. Moreover, of the nine millions of people inhabiting the Southern communities, three and a half millions were slaves. Above all, the Northern armies were swelled by additional white troops from disaffected sections of Virginia and Tennessee, by the enlistment of freedmen in the border states, and by the enrollment of German and Irish volunteers from Europe. It was only along one boundary line that the North was open to invasion. The South, on the other hand, was exposed, not only on its northern border throughout, but also along its coast and up its deeply penetrating waterways.

The Southern people had paid little attention to manufactures in general. Factories for the production of munitions for their armies had to be erected, and this could be done only under serious handicaps. Indispensable supplies of other kinds were procured with difficulty for the same reason. In the North, manufactures of every sort had long flourished, and the war only served to stimulate their expansion.

At the beginning of the struggle, however, the South, man for man, was superior to the North, owing to the virile physical and moral training that resulted from a secluded, independent, open-air life. "Nine-tenths of our soldiers," said a distinguished Confederate officer, "were excellent shots and practiced judges of distance." From the sons of the great

planters to the sons of the yeomen, they had all their lives been accustomed to endure every kind of weather as they rode and hunted in their own rural communities. A remarkable proportion of the privates were drawn from the refined and educated class of the South, and practically the entire body of the officers. The right arms of all were nerved by the stern recollection that they were resisting an invasion of their sacred hearthstones.

No one foresaw more clearly than Lee, as President Davis' military adviser, the obstacles to final triumph which the superior resources of the North in men and supplies would create; but no one relied more confidently than he on the manliness and patriotism of the Southern soldiers to uphold and advance their cause. While he anticipated ultimate victory for that cause, he did not deceive himself with the hope that the struggle would be shortlived.

His first assignment to important duty in the field was in western Virginia, where the spirit of disaffection to the Confederacy was already general, and where all maneuvers were seriously obstructed by the rugged surface of the country. General McClellan had previously been in command of the Federal forces in that quarter, and in a short time he had taken possession of all the northwestern section of the state. Afterwards he had been ordered to the East. Lee was presumed by his experience in Mexico to have acquired a peculiar fitness for mountain warfare, but the campaign which he now undertook to carry out against McClellan's successors proved to be a failure, chiefly in consequence of heavy and continuous rains. A severe epidemic of sickness also disabled a large number of his soldiers. A combination of other unfortunate circumstances further confused and baffled his plans. The upshot of this campaign perceptibly lowered his military reputation at the time. He was thought to have shown too much caution in handling his troops; and the public leaped to the conclusion that he was really equipped only for the performance of the tasks usually assigned to the organizer, the engineer, and the reconnoitering officer. He bore these censures with patience. "It is better," he said,

"not to attempt a justification or defense, but to go steadily on in the discharge of duty to the best of our ability, leaving all else to the calm judgment of the future and to a kind Providence."

Lee was soon assigned to the work of strengthening the coast defenses of Georgia and the Carolinas—a task so thoroughly and skillfully performed that not until the end of the war was the Confederate line of communication from the Mississippi River to the Potomac along the coast broken. As soon as this work was completed he was re-appointed to the office of military adviser to President Davis, having as such the general direction of all the movements of the Confederate forces in the East and West alike. At this time Jackson faced Banks in the Shenandoah Valley and Johnston faced McClellan in the Peninsula. Johnston was slowly falling back before the enemy, when he was severely wounded in one of the battles fought almost within the sound of the striking clocks of Richmond. Lee promptly took his place and soon let it be known to the somewhat discouraged army that the next step would be an offensive and not a defensive one.

The first order which he gave was for the construction of breastworks to extend all the way from Drewry's Bluff on the James to Meadow Bridge on the Chickahominy; and behind these he energetically reorganized his forces free from hostile interference. When this preparation for an advance was completed, he sent Stuart on a raid to find out the exact strength of the Federal defenses situated in his front. In the meanwhile, his army had been reinforced by troops from Georgia and the Carolinas, and he had also instructed Jackson to cross the mountains by a rapid march and join the main body on the Chickahominy by a descent from the north. With all the troops at his disposal now united into an effective whole, Lee struck the enemy first at Mechanicsville and afterwards still more fiercely at Gaines Mill. McClellan in consequence was compelled to fall back sullenly to the James, which he was able to reach only after beating off the Confederates, first at Savage's Station, and later on at

Malvern Hill where the campaign ended.

A few days before the latter battle was fought, President Lincoln had taken the necessary steps for the formation of a second army under General Pope, and as soon as organized, it began to march towards Gordonsville through a region at that time unprotected. This movement was designed to weaken the defenses of Richmond by forcing Lee to dispatch a large body of troops to halt the Federal advance from the Potomac. Although he was confronted on one side by Pope, and on the other by McClellan, now encamped at Harrison's Landing, he did not hesitate to detach Jackson with several divisions to oppose the new invasion of Piedmont. It was his expectation that fear for the safety of Washington, in case of Pope's defeat, would cause Lincoln to withdraw McClellan's discomfited troops from the Peninsula and to station them in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Lee's anticipation turned out to be correct, for in August he was able to join Jackson, now encamped on the Rapidan. Thus united, the Confederate troops soon showed such an aggressive and formidable spirit that Pope in alarm fell back before them towards the north. His new position was too strong to be assaulted from in front. To get around it Lee decided to dispatch Jackson first northwestward to the upper fords of the Rappahannock and thence eastward across the Bull Run Mountains to attack Pope in the rear, while he himself should hold the enemy's attention in front by a vigorous succession of blows.

The march to the left was carried out by Jackson with characteristic celerity, and before many hours had passed, the Federal army found itself unexpectedly standing between two hostile forces. Informed of Jackson's arrival behind him, Pope drew back towards Manassas in the hope of destroying his opponent by his superior weight before Lee could come up. Lee, however, was able, by rapid marches to the left of the Federal line of retreat, to join Jackson, who had at first slowly retired towards Lee's expected place of exit from the mountains, in order to avoid the full force of the Federal impact. But before the two could unite, Jackson

sprang on the first Federal division that passed his way. Pope hurried up reinforcements and made five attacks in succession, but without serious effect. All this time he was unaware that Lee was rapidly approaching. The next day the fierce Battle of Second Manassas was fought and won by the Confederates by the successful delivery of one of the most brilliant counterstrokes in military history. The entire Confederate line, four miles in length, leaped forward as one man to drive back and if possible overwhelm the foe.

The march to Pope's rear in this campaign was the first great turning movement in the history of the army of northern Virginia. The last was at Chancellorsville. It has been correctly said that Lee never ventured upon such a stroke after Jackson's death, because he knew that it required the qualifications possessed by that officer to carry it out successfully.

He now thought that the hour was ripe for an invasion of the North, a course that seemed to be made advisable by the declining fortunes of the Confederates in the West. He also hoped that his army would be increased by numerous recruits during its advance through Maryland. His soldiers, however, were suffering from lack of clothing and were greatly fatigued by the marches which they had so often in recent weeks been called on to make. Harper's Ferry in his rear was still occupied by Federal troops. Jackson was sent on to dispossess them, while Lee moved forward towards Sharpsburg. Unfortunately, a general order, inadvertently dropped by the way, fell into McClellan's hands, which gave him very important information about the Confederate plan of campaign. But he did not use this unexpected knowledge energetically. When the battle was finally joined on the banks of the Antietam, Jackson had come up from Harper's Ferry. This encouraged the Confederates, since they had been depressed by a check a few days before at Crampton's Gap. The issue of the combat was decisive for neither side. Lee repulsed every assault successfully, but in the end fell back behind the Potomac. The moral effect of the fight was a victory for the Federal army, for Lee's further invasion

of the North at that time was made impracticable.

The next battles to follow were fought at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. In the former, Burnside was in command of the Federal troops. His first act was to concentrate a great army on the heights north of the town, while he was faced to the south of it by the Confederate troops strung out on a line of rising ground that overlooked the valley of the Rappahannock. Lee made no attempt to prevent the enemy's passage of the river, as he hoped that, should their assault on his breastworks be foiled, he would be able to crush the disorganized mass as they retreated across the open plain. At every point in the end the Federal attack was repelled, but Lee did not consider it wise to follow up the foe as they withdrew across the plain in good order, under the protection of their batteries on the Stafford Hills; and they regained their old place beyond the river without serious molestation.

The two opposing armies now went into winter quarters. So soon as the spring opened, Hooker, in command of all the Federal forces, marched with the principal body of his soldiers across the Rappahannock by the upper fords and posted himself at a spot known as Chancellorsville, situated in the midst of a tangled wilderness of stunted trees and bushes. One wing of these troops was stronger numerically than Lee's entire army, while the other was nearly as strong. Hooker expressed himself with pompous confidence, "The Confederate army," he said, "is the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac." There were really two entirely separate Federal armies—the one under Hooker's immediate eye, entrenched at Chancellorsville; the other under Sedgwick's, encamped near Fredericksburg. Lee decided to throw his combined forces first against Hooker's breastworks, although he had only forty-five thousand men to fight his opponent's seventy thousand.

The position was too strong to justify a concentrated direct attack, and at a conference between Lee and Jackson it was concluded that the best plan for defeating the enemy was for Jackson to lead his forces through the jungle south-

ward; to march westward along Hooker's front, out of sight if possible; then northward, and finally eastward, until he should come up with the western end of the Federal right wing. The object of such a maneuver was to roll this wing on the Federal center, in the hope that in the confusion to follow, Lee, attacking in front, would be able to throw the Federal army into a disastrous retreat, during which the fords of the Rappahannock would have been closed by Jackson. While seeking to get behind the enemy and to cut them off from escape, that officer was disabled by the fire of his own men, who mistook him and his staff for a Federal detachment. Night had now fallen, the Confederate advance was halted, and in the darkness Hooker silently drew back to a second line of breastworks, strengthening his grip on the fords in his rear. Before Lee could assault the enemy's new position, he was compelled to turn and defeat Sedgwick, who had taken possession of the region between Fredericksburg and the Confederate army. As soon as this was accomplished, Lee returned to Chancellorsville to resume the interrupted drive against Hooker, but that commander took advantage of the following night to fall back to the north side of the Rappahannock.

Lee was so much encouraged by the brilliant success of the Chancellorsville campaign that he determined to invade the North a second time, a purpose which he had never really abandoned. He was convinced that the South would be unable to win its independence by standing permanently on the defensive. By repeating the victory of Chancellorsville on Northern soil, he hoped to deepen the depression which prevailed there already, as this condition would work in favor of peace. He calculated, too, that the pressure on Vicksburg would be relieved by the necessity of removing a part of the besieging force to the east to resist his advance; and he also looked forward to feeding his army in the most fertile region of Pennsylvania, during one campaign at least, instead of drawing further on the more or less exhausted resources of the Valley of Virginia.

By June 27 Lee had arrived at Chambersburg, where he

issued a proclamation warning his troops that war was to "be made only on armed men" and that no spirit of revenge was to be shown in the intercourse with the people of the country traversed. Meade had by this time taken the place of Hooker in command of the army of the Potomac, and he was now stationed with all his forces on the line of Pipe Creek situated southward of the town of Gettysburg. Lee had concentrated his three corps at Cashtown southwest of that town. A battle was brought on ultimately by the action of a Confederate brigade in pushing forward to Gettysburg in the hope of obtaining a supply of shoes. There it came unexpectedly into contact with a detachment of Federal cavalry. Next day, contrary to Lee's standing orders, Hill sent forward a considerable body of troops to reconnoiter, and in a short time they encountered part of the Federal First Corps, which Meade had rushed ahead when informed of the brush with the enemy the previous day. The Confederates and the Federals already on the ground were quickly reinforced, and the fighting became general. In the end the Federal corps was driven back in confusion to Cemetery Ridge.

Longstreet, at nightfall, was encamped only four miles away. It was perfectly feasible for the entire Confederate forces to have concentrated opposite the Ridge before seven o'clock next morning. The Federal army was now strung out all the way to Pipe Creek. A successful attack on the Ridge at this hour would have forced the Federal troops then occupying it back on the other Federal corps hastening up and would have compelled them to halt and retreat to their original position on Pipe Creek. Time on this occasion, as Longstreet remarked, was more than cannon balls, but unfortunately that officer did not recognize this fact as applicable to his own action. He was naturally so sluggish of movement that he was known in the service as Peter the Slow. The result of his characteristic in this instance was that he did not reach Gettysburg until eight o'clock in the morning. By that hour Meade had hurried up new reinforcements, but they were not too formidable to be defeated by a determined assault at once. Longstreet frittered away the precious mo-

ments in arguing in favor of a flank attack. "The enemy is here," replied Lee. "If we don't whip him, he will whip us."

Eleven o'clock passed without an advance by the Confederates. Longstreet had taken upon himself the responsibility of waiting for one of his brigades to come up, although he must have known that it would be outnumbered by the Federal reinforcements which would be able to arrive in the interval. It was not until four o'clock in the afternoon that he launched the attack he should have started eight hours earlier. At that moment a Federal corps which, when its march began, was thirty-four miles from Gettysburg, had reached the Heights, and the whole Federal army was now in position to repel an assault. The battle that followed all along the two opposing lines was sufficiently favorable to the Southern cause to justify Lee in thinking that a concerted attack the next day would be successful.

He selected the Federal center as the point to be struck. His hope was to drive a large body of troops like a wedge through this section of the Federal army and split the entire Federal host in two. Pickett's and Pettigrew's divisions were selected to advance up Cemetery Ridge, where the Federal center was stationed, while the Confederate batteries were expected to prepare for the charge by a previous bombardment and to protect it in its first stages. The distance to be traversed extended about fourteen hundred yards. The enemy's first line was carried, but the attackers, contrary to General Lee's plan, remained unsupported by Longstreet and were compelled to fall back to the Confederate main body, which during the interval had been idly looking on. The fight was not renewed, and on the second night after the three days' battle, Lee, unmolested, set his troops in motion. They continued to retreat until they had crossed the Potomac. Ultimately they encamped on the Rapidan, where the winter of 1864 was passed. In the meanwhile, the Federals had won the Battle of Missionary Ridge in Tennessee, had captured Vicksburg, and had pressed their opponents back to Dalton in Georgia. These successes greatly narrowed the field for Confederate supplies and recruits.

Grant was now placed in command of the Federal troops in Virginia. With the Battle of the Wilderness he began that policy of hammering away continuously against the Confederate forces under Lee which he had admitted was the only means of conquering them. This battle was the first step in his obstinate and persistent endeavor to turn the Confederate right. It was followed up by the Battle of Spotsylvania and, at the end of the campaign, by the Battle of Cold Harbor. At that time Lee had only forty-five thousand men to hold back the Federal army numbering a hundred and twelve thousand. Grant had made four great flank movements in order to plant himself between Lee and Richmond. In every one he failed to accomplish his purpose. At the close of the last, he was forced to do what he might have done at the beginning, without the loss of a man, i.e., strike at the Confederate capital through the back door of Petersburg. Lee had in the interval killed and wounded as many Federal soldiers as he himself possessed men. One in nearly every three of the Federal troops had been either disabled or destroyed. Had the Confederate army incurred the same loss, it would have entirely disappeared.

Lee clearly foresaw the consequences of a failure to prevent the enemy from crossing the James River. "If they get to Petersburg," he is reported to have said, "it will become a siege, and then it will be a mere question of time." Had he followed the suggestions of his own judgment, he would have abandoned Richmond and Petersburg at an early date in this final campaign and retired to the upper waters of the Staunton River, where the foothills were peculiarly adapted to defensive operations. Lee was compelled to extend his line thirty-five miles in order to protect the two cities at the same time, and his forces were soon so reduced in number that he could only concentrate at any one place by dangerously weakening his resistance at another. But in spite of this fact, he did not hesitate to send Early to the Valley to threaten Washington from that direction and thus divert Federal troops from Petersburg to its defense.

As the months rolled by, there faded all prospect of re-

inforcements for the depleted Confederate army. The dwindling troops were exposed to the sleet, snow, and rain of winter in the trenches; their supplies of food, medicines, and clothing grew more scanty and precarious; and they were also aware that Sherman's army was sweeping up from the South. Their constancy to the moribund Confederacy under such depressing circumstances was attributable to their devotion to their commander. "I can but describe his influence," remarked a member of his staff, "by saying that such was the love and veneration of the men for him that they had come to look upon the cause as General Lee's Cause, and they fought for it because they loved him. To them he represented cause, country, and all."

Lee would have abandoned his position in February but for the emaciation of his draft animals and the bottomless mud of the roads. It was his ultimate intention to retire towards Johnston's army in North Carolina along the line of the Richmond and Danville Railway. During the night of April 2 he withdrew his troops from the trenches and set out overland for Amelia Courthouse, the nearest point to that railway, with a force now reduced to thirty thousand men. When the Courthouse was reached, he learned that no store of food was awaiting him there, and his short delay in order to scour the surrounding country for provisions for his soldiers enabled the Federal cavalry to block his retreat southward towards Danville. Lee in consequence was compelled to march westwardly towards Lynchburg. At Sailor's Creek, the greater part of two corps, already seriously thinned, were captured by the enemy. When the remnant of the army straggled into the village of Appomattox, they found a large body of Federal infantry and cavalry obstructing their path. The eight thousand Confederates actually under arms were now confronted by seventy thousand seasoned Federal troops. But one alterative was left: surrender.

It was suggested to Lee that the surviving Confederate force should be permitted to disperse in small bands for a desultory guerrilla warfare. "That will not do," he replied emphatically. "It must be remembered that we are a Chris-

tian people. We have fought this fight as long and as well as we knew how. For us as a Christian people, there is but one course to pursue. We must accept the situation." "How easily I could get rid of this and be at rest," he said afterwards to a member of his staff in a moment of profound depression, "I have only to ride along the line and all will be over. But it is our duty to live, for what would become of the women and children of the South if we were not here to protect them?" "At the hour of actual surrender," we are told by a member of Grant's staff, who was present at the final interview, "his demeanor was that of a thoroughly self-possessed gentleman, who had a very disagreeable duty to perform, but was determined to get through with it as well and as soon as he could." When he returned to his own troops, he was received with every demonstration of sympathy and devotion. "Soldiers," he said, while the tears coursed down his cheeks, "we have fought through the war together. I have done the best for you I could."

General Lee's few remaining years were given up to the faithful performance of the duties of the presidency of Washington College. He refused every inducement which was pressed upon him to leave the country, and he continued to the end to urge his old comrades in arms "to remain at their homes and share the fate of their respective states." He declined to become a candidate for office because he thought that this would further inflame the suspicious temper of the Northern people in their attitude towards the Southern. He endeavored by every means in his power to cultivate in the latter a more kindly sentiment for their former enemies. "All controversy," he said, "will only serve to prolong angry and bitter feeling and postpone the period when reason and charity may resume their sway." In accepting the presidency of Washington College he said that he had been influenced to undertake its duties by "the hope of doing something for the benefit of the young men of the South." It was to education that he looked for the rehabilitation of the Southern people. "Each State," he counseled, "should adopt the most energetic measures to revive the

schools and colleges, and, if possible, to increase the facilities for instruction."

That the Southern people have recovered from the ruin following the combined calamities of war and reconstruction is attributable to their good sense and strength of character in learning those lessons of self-discipline, of devotion to the duties and tasks of the present hour, and of confidence in the future which General Lee inculcated to the closing hour of his life. His last words indicated that his mind, now sunk in unconsciousness, had wandered back to the comrades and scenes of his military career. "Tell Hill he must come up," he was heard to murmur. His body now rests under a noble effigy of himself in the shadow of the seat of learning which he had served so faithfully, and in the midst of the Southern people, for whose independence he had fought with so much genius and constancy.

Chapter XIV

GENERAL THOMAS J. JACKSON—"STONEWALL"

There is credible evidence that Andrew Jackson and Stonewall Jackson were remotely kin to each other. When Andrew Jackson was serving in Congress with George Jackson, who represented a district situated in the western part of Virginia, they swapped traditions of their respective families and found that their ancestors on the paternal side had emigrated to America from the same province in Ireland, namely, Ulster, the seat of the sturdy descendants of the Scotchmen who had left their native heather to find a new home in the soil of the dispossessed Irishmen. John Jackson, one of these descendants, sailed away to Virginia, and settling in the mountainous region of the upper Potomac, became so loyal to his adopted country that he shouldered a musket and served as a gallant soldier in the War of the Revolution. His eldest son and his eldest grandson were both elected to Congress. The grandson married a sister of the famous Dolly Payne, the wife of President Madison, and rose to eminence as a federal judge. His brother occupied a seat on the bench of the Virginia Court of Appeals, after filling with distinction the office of lieutenant-governor of the state.

Stonewall Jackson was sprung from the immigrant's second son, who accumulated a very respectable estate as a surveyor. The son of this second son, the father of the great soldier, was a lawyer by profession, whose amiable disposition led him to indorse for friends. And their failure to pay, together with a love of cards on his own part, re-

sulted in the loss of all that he had saved or inherited. His death left his family dependent on the charity of their kinsmen.

His mother having passed away, Thomas Jackson at seven became an inmate of the home of an uncle who owned a large plantation, numerous slaves, and a sawmill which was supplied with lumber from his own woods. While still a mere boy the future general was assigned the task of superintending the workmen who cut the logs in the forest and hauled them to the mill—a proof of a precocious ability to command. He also handled both the hoe and the plough in the farming operations during the mild seasons of the year, while during the cold, he attended a school in the neighborhood.

An active life in the open air served to strengthen a frame naturally inclined to weakness and delicacy, and it also made him enterprising and self-reliant in his general character. He and his brother, who was only two years older, once passed an entire summer alone on a small island in the Mississippi River near the mouth of the Ohio. Here they were able to subsist by the returns from the firewood which they cut for the passing steamers.

The future soldier further revealed his manly temper in his taste for fox-hunting and horse-racing. In the heats which were run on his uncle's four-mile track, he often proved himself to be the successful jockey.

It was said of Jackson by one who knew him in these early years that he was a youth of exemplary habits, indomitable will, and undoubted courage. "When he made up his mind to do a thing," this observer reports, "he did it on short notice, and in quick time." These qualities were of assistance to him in executing the functions of the office of rural constable, to which he was appointed when only seventeen years of age. He expected by this means to obtain an independent income for his own support; and he also hoped that the constant traveling about his district on horseback, necessary to the performance of his duties, would cure the chronic dyspepsia from which he suffered. But since the

life which he was compelled to lead did not carry with it any intellectual improvement, he regarded it with discontent.

His previous lack of opportunities for an education was all the more serious when in 1842 he appeared before the Secretary of War in person as an applicant for a cadetship at the United States Military Academy on the Hudson. But this official was so much pleased by Jackson's replies to questions put to him that he was given the appointment at once. "Go to West Point," the Secretary said, "and the first man who insults you, knock him down, and have it charged to my account." It is said that when he entered the gate of the Academy for the first time, he was clad in Virginia homespun cloth and carried in his saddlebags all the property he owned in the world. He was now strong of body, but awkward in movement and shy in manner. "There was about him, however," says one of his comrades who saw him arrive, "so sturdy an expression of purpose, that I remarked (to my companions), 'that fellow looks as if he had come to stay.' "

The record of his term of four years reveals his determination and persistence as a student. At the end of his first year he stood the fifty-first in a class of seventy-two; at the end of the second year, the thirtieth; at the end of the third year, the twentieth; and of his fourth and last year, the seventeenth. So steady was his progress, in consequence of his assiduous application, his comrades used to say that if they "had to stay at the Academy another year, Old Jack would be at the head of his class." His resolution as a student could be weakened by no obstacle. "All lights were put out at taps," records a fellow-cadet, "and just before the signal, he would pile up his grate with anthracite coal, and lying prone before it on the floor, would work away at his lessons by the glare of the fire, which scorched his very brain, till a late hour of the night." "While there were many," says another classmate, "who seemed to surpass him in intellect, in geniality, and in good fellowship, there was no one of our class who more absolutely possessed the respect and confidence of all."

The year of Jackson's graduation at the Military Academy was the year of the declaration of war against Mexico. His first military service was the superintendence of the work of placing guns to protect Point Isabel, situated at the mouth of the Rio Grande. It was not until the following year that he found himself plunged in actual fighting. Attached as a second lieutenant to General Scott's command, he took part in the siege of Vera Cruz, in which he bore himself so coolly under fire that he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. His spirit was revealed in his eagerness at Cerro Gordo to become a member of Captain Magruder's company because it had recently carried off a light battery from the Mexicans, which they were permitted by General Scott to retain. "I wanted," he said afterwards, "to see active service, to be near the enemy in the fight, and when I heard that John Magruder had got his battery, I bent all my energies to be with him, for I knew if any fighting was to be done, Magruder would be on hand." The fighting, however, did not begin in earnest until the American army arrived at San Antonio, where the Mexicans had erected a strong fortification and protected it by a large body of troops. In the effort to carry these defenses by bombardment, Jackson, in command of one section of Magruder's battery, took a formidable part, but it was not until the flank and rear of the Mexican army at Contreras, north of San Antonio, had been attacked by infantry that the enemy were compelled to yield their ground. During this operation Magruder's guns were held in reserve.

But in the Battle of Chapultepec, which occurred not long afterwards, the section under Jackson's command advanced so far towards the city of Mexico that he became exposed to the full fire of the larger part of the fortress which arose on his right. He was accompanied by a regiment of infantry. The men of this regiment and of his own battery began to shrink under the bombardment. To encourage them, Jackson walked slowly backwards and forwards on the open roadway, in spite of the flying bullets. "There is no danger," he cried, "see! I am not hit." General Worth, in command of

that part of the battlefield, sent him a message to retreat. "It is more dangerous to retire than to hold my ground," was the reply, and with a sergeant's aid he began loading and firing a gun as calmly as if his whole original force were still fully supporting him, instead of having taken shelter from the rain of leaden missiles. A simultaneous advance was made by the entire army; Chapultepec was captured; and the enemy fled in complete disorder towards the city. As they passed in range of his battery Jackson hastened their movement by a continuous fire upon their flank.

For the conspicuous share which he had taken in the campaign since the attack on San Antonio, he was promoted, first to the rank of captain, and afterwards to that of major. He had shown himself no idle boaster when he said, "I am conscious of a more perfect command of all my faculties, and of their more clear and rapid action, when under fire than at any other time." In the dispatches of Scott and the reports of Pillow and Worth, his services were warmly commended. "If devotion, industry, talent, and gallantry," declared Magruder, his immediately superior officer, "are the highest qualities of a soldier, then is he entitled to the distinction which their possession confers."

After the close of the Mexican War, Jackson remained an officer in the regular army during a period of two years. He then resigned to accept the professorship of artillery tactics and natural philosophy in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington. He stated at the time that he was led to make such a radical change in his life by the opportunity he would have to continue his practical acquaintance with the branch of his profession which he preferred, namely, the artillery. His attention, however, was not restricted to this one subject. He gave instruction in optics, mechanics, and astronomy. He was a well-informed and conscientious teacher, but without any special aptitude for imparting his knowledge to his pupils. His defects as a preceptor were accentuated by marked eccentricities of manner and conduct which made him an object of ridicule, in spite of his high qualities of character and the genuine respect with which he was

always regarded by the members of his classes.

It was during his residence at Lexington that he became a member of the Presbyterian denomination, the rigid doctrines of which were peculiarly congenial to the stern Puritan undercurrents of his nature, already influenced by the inherited religious instincts of his Scotch-Irish covenanter ancestors. So far did he carry the austerity and severity of his devout views that he would always refuse to post a letter on Sunday or even read the contents of one. His whole life was regulated by the standards of the most inflexible religious convictions, and yet he did not seek to thrust these convictions on others. "Never have I known a holier man," said one who was intimately associated with him during the years of his professorship. "Never have I seen a human being as thoroughly governed by duty. He lived only to please God. His daily life was a daily offering up of himself." Nevertheless, Jackson never forgot that he was a soldier, and he never ceased to exalt the nobility of his calling. He was a profound admirer of the military genius of Napoleon and was rarely so animated as when he was discussing the marvelous energy and celerity reflected in the marches and battles of that supreme master of war. It was from this master that he in no small measure caught the inspiration which lifted the campaign in the Valley of Virginia to the level of the campaign in Italy.

The shadow of the approaching storm in national affairs was first projected in a practical way across his path by his membership in the military force which surrounded the scaffold at the hour of John Brown's execution. "I sent up a petition that he might be saved," he wrote at the time of that event. "I hope that he was prepared to die." But his solicitude for the fanatic's soul did not diminish his keen resentment of the attack which this militant Abolitionist had made on the South. "We ought to take our stand upon the outer verge of our just rights," he said in commenting on the general attitude of the North at this time, "and there resist aggression, if necessary, by the sword." He was, however, in favor of maintaining peace with the Northern people as long

PLATE XVII. *Photo Gramstorff.*

GENERAL THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON—
"STONEWALL"

as it could be honorably done. "I have had an opportunity of knowing enough of war," he said, "to make me fear it as the sum of all evils." "But if war should come," he exclaimed in an address to the students of the Institute, "then draw your swords and throw away the scabbards."

When President Lincoln issued his call for an army of seventy-five thousand volunteers for the invasion of those Southern states which had seceded, there burned in no Southern breast a fiercer flame in favor of immediate resistance than in the breast of Major Jackson. "All I am and all I have is at the service of my country," he exclaimed. He was soon thereafter summoned to Richmond at the head of the members of his advanced class, in order to give instruction to the recruits in military drills. On the morning of his departure he knelt in prayer and in a voice shaken with emotion petitioned God "that, if it was consistent with his will, he would still avert the threatened danger, and grant the country peace." On reaching the capital, he was commissioned to a colonelcy by the governor, and ordered to take command at Harper's Ferry. A small garrison was stationed there at that time, but soon after his arrival it was increased to several thousand officers and men.

At first his appearance and bearing failed to impress his subordinates favorably, for he continued to wear his Institute uniform, which was unadorned with gold lace; he rode his horse with awkwardness; and he was attended, not by his staff, but by a single aide, when he went out to inspect the outposts. Nor would he enliven the scene with reviews, but instead kept his soldiers actively employed with drilling or with constructing fortifications on the neighboring heights. He perceived with prophetic clearness that, should the place be abandoned, the whole northwestern part of the state would fall into the enemy's hands, never to be recovered.

When the Confederate Government was removed to Richmond and the army reorganized, General Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to the command of the district of the Valley, with a large force under him, and Jackson at the same time was appointed to the command of the first brigade in

that force. Five regiments composed this brigade, supported by the Rockbridge battery. The men in these regiments had been drawn principally from the Scotch-Irish communities situated either in the great Valley itself or in the neighboring mountains. Before retreating from Harper's Ferry, Johnston ordered Jackson to reconnoiter in the direction of Williamsport on the Potomac, to find out the strength of the Federal army under General Patterson, which had recently crossed the river at that place. A brush with the enemy followed, but they were too formidable in numbers to be halted by Jackson's small detachment, and he fell back slowly until he had once more joined Johnston's main force, which was now retiring towards Winchester. At this time Beauregard was stationed east of the mountains at Manassas Junction with twenty-two thousand troops, who had already come in conflict with a brigade of McDowell's army. McDowell was moving forward at the head of fifty thousand men to assault the Confederate position.

On July 18, 1861, Johnston received a telegram from President Davis to march at quick step to Beauregard's assistance. Camp was at once abandoned, and the faces of the soldiers were turned to the chain of the Blue Ridge. A distance of sixty miles had to be traversed. Jackson's brigade led the way. By two o'clock in the morning the army had passed through Ashby's Gap and reached the eastern slope of the Ridge. Here the men were halted for an interval of rest. "Let the poor fellows sleep," replied Jackson, when informed that no pickets had been posted. "I will guard the camp myself." And this duty he performed until day began to show itself on the crest of the mountains.

By four o'clock the troops belonging to the brigades of Jackson, Bee, and Bartow, had arrived in the vicinity of Manassas. This section of Johnston's army had been transported a part of the way by rail. The rest of that army had been delayed in transit by the necessity of proceeding on foot. The Confederate main body, now posted along the southern bank of Bull Run, numbered with this first reinforcement about twenty-nine thousand men, as compared

with thirty-six thousand seven hundred Federal troops concentrated at Centerville. It was McDowell's design to advance and strike the Confederate left so soon as he should come up with it. His attack was begun in that quarter at six o'clock in the morning, and in such strength that four Confederate brigades were ordered to march forward to support Evans' brigade, which held that part of the line. Bee and Bartow led the way; but the Federal impact was so heavy that the Confederates, greatly surpassed in numbers, were compelled to retire before it across a plateau known as Henry Hill, which stood out conspicuously in the scene. As one of the Confederate batteries was withdrawing over the highest part of this plateau, its commander gave expression to his indignation at the infantry's failure to second his guns, which compelled him to withdraw to the position held by Jackson in the rear of the original assault. Jackson overheard the words. "I will support your battery," he called out. "Unlimber right here." General Bee, whose brigade was rapidly retreating towards Jackson's position, galloped up. "They are beating us back," he exclaimed to Jackson. "We will give them the bayonet," was the quick reply. Bee returned to his disordered troops. Pointing with his sword to Jackson's brigade, which stood with perfect firmness in their tracks, "Look," he shouted to his men. "There is Jackson standing like a stone wall. Rally behind the Virginians."

Jackson now advanced to the eastern edge of Henry Hill, where a little grove of small pines covered some of the ground. Here he halted his regiments in close support of his batteries in front, while Stuart's cavalry protected his left flank. Behind this line the broken brigades of Evans, Bee, and Bartow quickly re-formed and stationed themselves on the right.

Hardly had this maneuver been completed, when the Federal center was observed to be advancing towards the Confederate position. It numbered sixteen thousand men. They marched with an assured step, and apparently this confidence was justified, since the force opposing them at that point barely numbered sixty-five hundred men, with only

twelve light field guns to back them up. As they drew near, Jackson rode up and down behind his soldiers, now lying down, and encouraged them with "Steady, men, steady, all's well." Then he passed the order to them to rise, pour a volley into the enemy's faces, and charge with the bayonet. As the soldiers leapt up to obey, they gave the afterwards famous rebel yell. By the attack which followed, the Federals were thrown into confusion and slowly retired across the plateau. As they fell back, the entire Confederate army was ordered by Beauregard to advance; the rupture of the Federal center had shaken the whole Federal defense; and before the fierce Confederate assault, the foe, after making at first a resolute resistance, gradually became an undisciplined mass of fugitives. Instead of a vigorous pursuit's being kept up by the Confederate commander, no attempt was made to overtake them beyond Centerville.

During three days Jackson impatiently expected an order to move forward. "Give me," he said, "one thousand fresh troops, and I will be in Washington tomorrow." "General," said one of his officers to him after the battle, "how is it that you can keep so cool, and appear so utterly insensible to danger in such a storm of shell and bullets as rained about you when your hand was hit?" One of Jackson's fingers had been wounded as he was holding up his hand in prayer in the course of the battle. "Captain," was the reply, "my religious belief teaches me to feel as safe in battle as in bed. God has fixed the time for my death. I do not concern myself about that, but to be always ready, no matter when it will overtake me."

So great was the reputation for military skill and staunchness which Jackson won at the Battle of Bull Run that he was appointed to the command of all the forces collected in the Valley, numbering about three thousand men, most of whom, however, belonged to the militia. Afterwards his strength was increased by the arrival of the Stonewall Brigade and the Rockbridge Battery.

His first campaign in that quarter was directed against the Federal posts situated in the region of the Potomac's up-

per waters. His object was to cut the Baltimore and Ohio Railway and thus destroy the main channel of supplies for Banks's army of eighteen thousand men, stationed between Cumberland and Frederick, and now preparing to cross into the Valley. Owing to disaffection in Loring's division, which had been exposed to unusual hardships on the march, the campaign fell short of the results which Jackson had rightly expected. He was practically censured by the Confederate Secretary of War, under the influence of Loring's critical report, in consequence of which he submitted his resignation, as he considered such interference with his military operations unwarranted and calculated to set a dangerous precedent. In the end the Secretary gave way, and the resignation was withdrawn.

At the beginning of the spring of 1862, Jackson, who had been encamped during the later months of winter at Winchester, advanced towards the Potomac a second time. He was now confronted by Banks, who had crossed the river at Harper's Ferry at the head of thirty-eight thousand troops. At this hour Jackson's force did not exceed forty-six hundred men, and six batteries of twenty-seven guns. His cavalry, which numbered six hundred men, was under the command of Turner Ashby. After a series of marches and countermarches on the part of the two antagonists in the vicinity of Winchester, Jackson fell back, in the hope of drawing Banks further up the Valley; but before this could be brought about, two of the latter's divisions were withdrawn in order to increase the size of McClellan's forces in the Peninsula. One division, however, remained behind under the command of General Shields, whose troops outnumbered their opponents in the proportion of three to one.

At Kernstown Jackson and Shields came into collision, and the Confederate regiments in the end had to yield their ground. The only favorable result of the battle was that the two Federal divisions, which under Banks's command had gone to McClellan's assistance, had to be recalled to the Valley. "The field is in the possession of the enemy," reported Jackson, "yet the essential fruits of the battle are

ours." This signified that forty-six thousand men under Banks and McDowell had been diverted from other Federal operations, where the preponderance which they would have given would perhaps have won the victory.

In April, at the head of nineteen thousand men, Banks advanced up the Valley and finally halted at Harrisonburg. In the meanwhile, Jackson, with an army of four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry had taken position at the western end of Swift's Run Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, a position which would enable him to assail his adversary in the rear should he venture to move on towards Staunton. At this time Fremont, with eighteen thousand men, was coming up from western Virginia to unite with Banks, and only twenty-eight hundred Confederates stood in the path between him and Harrisonburg. The latter appeared to be in immediate danger of capture, but luckily for them, Fremont had separated his forces. His nearest brigade was at McDowell, twenty-seven miles northwest of Staunton.

Jackson determined to take advantage of this gap. He was aware that Ewell had been left at Manassas with eight thousand men when Johnston removed his troops to the Peninsula to repel the Federal invasion, and he therefore dispatched an order to Ewell to join the army in the Valley. He himself advanced up the Shenandoah to Port Republic, crossed the mountains to the Central Railway at Meechums, and there boarding the cars with his main force, and leaving the guns to be drawn along the turnpike, he moved rapidly forward to Staunton. By the next day his whole force was concentrated in that town. On the morning of May 7 he began the march to McDowell, where Milroy was posted. The battle that was soon fought there ended in a Federal rout.

After a short pursuit, Jackson turned his face eastward, with the design of attacking Banks's army, which had fallen back to Strasburg. The Confederate victory at McDowell had prevented Fremont and his eighteen thousand troops from joining Banks at the time appointed. When Jackson arrived in the neighborhood of Harrisonburg, he was able to unite his force with Ewell's, and by the twenty-second,

the combined armies of the two, which numbered sixteen thousand men, were advancing against the enemy by way of the Luray Valley. In the course of the march a Federal detachment under General Kenly was broken up and dispersed. At this time Banks was under the impression that Jackson was quietly encamped in the general vicinity of Front Royal, but he was soon disabused of this supposition. The Confederates, debouching from the Luray Valley, struck his army in the rear at Middletown, forced it to retreat, and kept up the pursuit until nearly dawn; and after a brief rest, then resumed it. The enemy made a stand near Winchester but were driven back through its streets in confusion, and as they fled, Jackson was heard to exclaim, "Press forward to the Potomac." But his soldiers were now too fatigued to continue the rush, and Banks escaped beyond the river.

The result of the victory of Winchester was the diversion of McDowell's army from McClellan to Banks, a fact that contributed to the failure of the Federal campaign in the Peninsula. The authorities at Washington also had soon become alarmed for the safety of their capital and were thus led to retain there a large force which might otherwise have served in the field. Ultimately, Jackson fell back towards Strasburg, carrying along with him a double column of wagons seven miles in length filled with army stores. By June 5 he had reached the village of Cross Keys. Throughout the march he had been attacked in flank and rear by Federal detachments; but they had tried in vain to get around to his front, owing to the rapidity of his movement.

One June 8, a battle was fought at Cross Keys, and on the ninth, at Port Republic; and in both the Confederates triumphed. The Federal forces under Fremont retreated towards Winchester, while Jackson withdrew his over-taxed army to the nearest mountain slope for rest. Here on Sunday, June 15, a general religious communion was held. "The quiet diffidence with which the commander took the least obtrusive place at the ceremony," we are told by his chief of staff, who was present, "and received the sacred emblems from the hands of a regimental chaplain was in

beautiful contrast with the majesty and authority of his bearing in the crisis of battle." The campaign in the Luray Valley had lasted forty-two days, and during this time the Confederate army, which numbered only sixteen thousand men at its strongest hour, had captured thirty-five hundred men, disabled thirty-five hundred, and seized vast stores of supplies of all kinds, including guns and rifles; had marched a distance of four hundred miles; and had kept the three Federal armies, under Banks, Fremont, and Shields—seventy thousand troops in all—too much occupied to give any aid to the Federal cause elsewhere. The success of the campaign has been pronounced by Colonel Henderson, the greatest of Jackson's biographers, as superior in genius to Napoleon's campaign in Italy. His chief maxim was, "Always mystify, mislead, and surprise the enemy, if possible; and never fight against heavy odds, if by any possible maneuvering you can hurl your own force on any part, and that the weakest part, of your enemy, and crush it." "To move swiftly," he said, "strike vigorously, and secure all the fruits of victory, is the secret of successful war." Such were the rules which enabled him to achieve the remarkable results of this campaign.

Jackson was still in favor of invading the North as the most effective way of weakening McClellan's army; but it was the Confederate Government's opinion, backed by that of Lee, who had taken the wounded Johnston's place as commander in the Peninsula, that the hour was opportune for the transfer of the troops in the Valley to the banks of the Chickahominy. In June, veiling his intentions and his movements from the enemy as far as possible, Jackson responded to Lee's order to lead his men with extraordinary rapidity across the Blue Ridge; and by the twenty-second of that month they were encamped at Frederick's Hall on the Central Railway. After an interview with Lee, Jackson set his troops in motion towards Ashland, which he reached after some delay, owing to the lack of accurate maps of the country. At this time three Federal armies, namely, Banks's, Fremont's, and McDowell's, were prevented from going to Mc-

Clellan's sorely needed aid by the fear that at any hour Jackson might turn up in their front. McClellan was now astride the Chickahominy and was near enough to Richmond to descry the steeples of its churches.

Jackson was ordered to descend from Ashland and attack from the north the right wing of the Federal army, while the other divisions under A. P. Hill, D. H. Hill, and Longstreet were to cross the river by different bridges and in turn unite their forces with his as he came down the opposite bank of the stream, driving the Federal right wing before him. A. P. Hill, fretted by Jackson's failure to appear, anticipated the movement by crossing at Meadow Bridge prematurely and attacking at Mechanicsville. Longstreet and D. H. Hill crossed below to support him. The battle had been joined by these three forces for some hours when Jackson's guns were heard in the enemy's rear, but he was too late that day to afford assistance, and his advance was further halted by the necessity of first getting in touch with the three generals ahead of him. In this situation night overtook him.

On the ensuing morning—the enemy having retreated during the night in the direction of Gaines Mills—with as much haste as the rough underbrush in his path allowed, Jackson moved forward to strike the still retiring right wing of the enemy in the flank. This wing, composed of thirty thousand men, halted on reaching a plateau near the river connected by two bridges with the other bank, where the rest of McClellan's army was held up by the demonstrations of a Confederate force opposite their left front. The earliest Confederate troops to arrive before the plateau belonged to Hill's and Longstreet's divisions. An assault on the Federal position began at once, but the enemy firmly maintained their ground instead of falling back towards York River. It was this latter course on their part which Lee had expected, and it was a wish to prevent it that had led him to order Jackson to occupy a place on the extreme left. It was his hope that the other Confederate divisions would drive the Federals down the Chickahominy in the general direction of Fortress Monroe.

After the check at the plateau, a delay occurred until Jackson's brigades came up. An order was then given by Lee for a general advance, and so vigorous was the assault launched by the combined Confederate divisions that the Federals were forced back in confusion across the bridges to the south side of the river. This success saved the city of Richmond from nearer approach, for on the following day McClellan set his whole army slowly in motion for the James River. The policy of Lee now was to hurry forward in pursuit of the enemy in the hope of breaking up their organization by a succession of strokes. Jackson was instructed to cross by Grapevine Bridge to the south side of the river, which assigned to him the most difficult road of all, as it ran through White Oak Swamp. The bridge over the stream which flowed through this swamp had been destroyed by McClellan after he had passed over it, but he had left behind on the east bank twenty-five thousand men to prevent its reconstruction or its passage by the Confederates, should they succeed in rebuilding it. Jackson tried in vain to obtain a foothold on the east side, which was essential if he was to coöperate with Hill and Longstreet in their attack on the Federals at Frazier's Farm, already announced by the sound of their cannon. This could have been effected by a march around the swamp, but as Lee had not changed the original order to assail the enemy across the bridge, Jackson refused to take the responsibility of altering the plan. With the battle of Malvern Hill the campaign ended.

In July Jackson was sent to take position at Gordonsville, which was threatened by General Pope's advance from the north. Once more he was confronted by Banks and Fremont. At Cedar Run he was successful in a fight with his old antagonist, Banks, but as Pope's entire army was hurrying forward, Jackson was compelled to halt in his pursuit. One result of the battle was to hasten McClellan's withdrawal from the Peninsula for the defense of Washington.

By the middle of August, Lee, with the rest of his Peninsula troops, had arrived at Jackson's encampment in Orange County. He had under his command fifty-five thousand men

to oppose the fifty-two thousand enrolled in the Federal army. It was proposed by Jackson that the enemy should be assailed in the rear, but this was frustrated by the mistakes of the Confederate cavalry. Pope got wind of the plan and quickly retreated to the north bank of the Rappahannock. Here the capture of his principal dispatch book revealed the fact that he was soon to be heavily reinforced, and it therefore became necessary that he should be attacked at once. But how? At a conference between Lee and Jackson it was decided that Jackson should march entirely around the Federal army and completely disrupt its line of supply, while Lee should assault it in front.

Moving to the left by a side sweep, Jackson crossed the Bull Run Mountains by way of Thoroughfare Gap, and then turning towards the rear of the Federal position, captured Manassas Junction, with the vast quantity of provisions and munitions which had been stored there for the use of the Federal army. The conflagration caused by the burning of this great hoard of inflammable articles was the first proof that Pope received of Jackson's presence behind him. He gave immediate orders for the retirement of his troops to that point, with the view of surrounding the audacious raiders. But when the Federal forces arrived there, Jackson had fallen back to Groveton, so as to keep in touch with Thoroughfare Gap, the route, he knew, by which Lee expected to join him after dropping the feint of a frontal assault.

At Groveton Jackson attacked a part of the Federal army with success, which caused Pope to hurry to that scene the rest of his troops then stationed at Centerville not far away. On the twenty-ninth the Federal commander began his assault on Jackson at Manassas. By this time Lee had arrived at Thoroughfare Gap. While his lieutenant was resisting the determined enemy from behind the embankments and cuttings of an old disused railroad, he himself was pressing forward through the Gap to furnish the aid which was indispensable if the foe was to be permanently halted. The first Federal assault had been repulsed when Longstreet's ad-

vance guard reached a remote part of the field. A second Federal assault was made against Jackson alone with fresh troops. This also failed. Three more vigorous assaults took place with little success. While these events were occurring, Longstreet was demurring to Lee's order to him to assail the Federal left. As night fell, Jackson was still holding the ground which his own force alone had been defending throughout the day.

On the following morning the first brunt of the renewed battle again fell on him, but this, too, was successfully resisted. As the Federals, discomfited and exhausted, fell back, Lee gave the order for a general advance over a front of four miles. The Federal army retreated before this charge in confusion, and only the arrival of additional troops enabled them to hold the plateau of Henry Hill and save themselves from an irretrievable rout. When darkness came on, they withdrew behind intrenchments at Centerville, where they were reinforced a second time. From this place Pope, harassed by Jackson, retired to Fairfax and finally found a safe refuge only behind the fortifications of Washington.

In the campaign in Maryland which followed, Jackson took a part second only to that of Lee. At this time a force of fourteen thousand Federal troops was stationed at Winchester, Martinsburg, and Harper's Ferry, and it was thought to be inadvisable to leave them unmolested in the rear. Jackson was dispatched to seize Harper's Ferry, to which, as he approached from Westport, most of these scattered Federal soldiers retired. They numbered there twelve thousand five hundred men in all. After a lively bombardment, the place was surrendered. Hardly had this been effected, when Jackson set out to rejoin Lee. On the morning of September 16 he reached the field of Sharpsburg, where it had been decided to make a stand. The battle, indeed, had already begun with Federal firing from the surrounding hills.

The first assault of the enemy was directed against Jackson's troops, and a bloody conflict ensued. It is said that the standing corn on the spot where the two opposing forces first

came in contact was cut down by the bullets as if it had been mowed down by a machine. In the end the assault was repelled, although at this particular place in the general battlefield there were only forty-two hundred Confederates pitted against a Federal corps of twelve thousand five hundred. A second assault was stopped with equal success, but ultimately Jackson was forced to take up a new position. Here he was attacked by a Federal corps of eighteen thousand men. This body was met by a heavy fire in front while it was assailed with equal vigor in flank and rear. The Federals in consequence gave way in confusion and were closely followed by the Confederates, but the latter were soon stopped by a large force of fresh Federal troops and in turn driven back to their original position, which they continued to hold until nightfall. In the meanwhile, the Confederate center was engaged in resisting an equally fierce attack. The Confederate right, also hard pressed, had been strengthened by the arrival of additional troops under A. P. Hill.

The battle at the end of the day had been sufficiently favorable to the Confederate cause to justify Lee in saying that he was prepared to continue the fight the ensuing morning, should McClellan show a disposition to renew it. All next day, however, the Federal commander remained quiet, but in the interval heavy reinforcements were rapidly arriving for his support. Lee therefore thought that it would be wisest to withdraw his fatigued and almost decimated troops behind the Potomac.

In the reorganization of the Confederate army, which soon took place, Jackson was promoted to the command of one of the two army corps then formed, with the rank of lieutenant general.

In October, at the head of a hundred and twenty-five thousand men and three hundred and twenty guns, McClellan crossed the Potomac with the intention of invading Virginia and hewing out a path to Richmond. But before he could join battle, he was removed by President Lincoln, and Burnside was given the command. The incompetence of this officer was proved in the next great conflict between the Fed-

eral and Confederate armies, which took place in the vicinity of the town of Fredericksburg. Jackson had been stationed at Winchester, and he moved his corps from that town to Orange, and thence to the lower Rappahannock, to unite with the rest of the Confederate forces in opposing the passage of that stream by the Federals, whose base of supply was now established at Acquia on the Potomac. Their main army, however, was encamped on the Heights of Stafford, looking down on the valley of the Rappahannock and across to the hills on the southern edge of that valley, where the Confederate forces numbering seventy-eight thousand five hundred men and two hundred and seventy-five guns, were strung out in a long line strongly entrenched. Jackson as well as Lee favored a plan of falling back to the North Anna River, as this would draw Burnside further into a country difficult to traverse, and in case of his defeat would expose him to greater peril when pursued; but Mr. Davis had overruled this plan, and Lee in consequence was compelled to hold his position near Fredericksburg.

Burnside made an attempt to throw a bridge across the Rappahannock at that point but the workmen were driven off. They were more successful with several below the town. By these new bridges the Federal commander was able on December 13 to march the larger part of his army from the northern to the southern side of the river, under the protection of the batteries on the heights behind him. Completely blanketed by a fog at first, this mighty host of men advanced over the level plain, but gradually, as the sun dispelled the mist, the splendor of the scene was exposed to the full view of the Confederate army, silently awaiting the enemy's approach on the hills towards the south. Jackson's corps was posted behind the railway line from Richmond. The only weak point in this line was a tract of wooded marsh that projected towards the plain some distance across the railroad. This was unprotected. The Federal force now threatening the Confederate army embraced eighty-five thousand men, supported by a proportionate number of batteries. Of these, fifty-five thousand men and one hundred and sixteen

guns were making straight for the position defended by Jackson, while the rest were marching towards Marye's Heights defended by Longstreet.

For a time Major Pelham's horse battery of two guns held back the Federal troops under Meade, who were advancing towards Jackson's corps. The artillery of this corps had been posted in reserve in the woods behind, but so soon as Meade had come within range, it let loose its fire and forced the enemy back to the foot of the hills. An artillery duel then began with deadly effect on either side. Meade again advanced and endeavored to get back of his enemy by making his way through the wooded marsh, but this movement was ultimately frustrated, and then Jackson's line rushed forward to the railway. By three o'clock both wings of the Federal army had withdrawn to the plain. Jackson took steps to follow the retreating enemy across the valley, but in the face of the concentrated fire of the Federal batteries in the valley itself and on Stafford Heights beyond, he decided that pursuit would be imprudent, a conclusion in which Lee concurred. The Federal army, without further molestation, crossed to the north side of the river.

The winter of 1863 was passed by the Confederate army in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg. In the meanwhile, the Federal Government had been assembling not far from that town a force of one hundred and thirty-four thousand men and four hundred and twenty-eight guns, under the command of General Hooker. In April Hooker adopted the plan of campaign of dispatching ten thousand cavalrymen under Stoneman to cut the line of Lee's supplies from the South, while he himself should cross the Rappahannock and entrench at Chancellorsville not far from Fredericksburg. One of his lieutenants, Sedgwick, was to remain in the vicinity of that town in order to threaten the rear of Lee's army when it should set out on the march westward towards the main Federal position. This plan was carried out. Lee met it by leaving a detachment of ten thousand men under Early to hold Sedgwick in check and sending the rest of his army towards Chancellorsville, where Hooker had concentrated

seventy thousand troops.

On the morning of May 1 Hooker moved forward in the direction of the approaching Confederates, at that hour under Jackson's sole command, as Lee had stayed behind temporarily with the force confronting Sedgwick. Striking the van of Hooker's army, Jackson compelled it to fall back through the dense underbrush to the Federal intrenchments at Chancellorsville. At this hour Lee joined Jackson on the scene. At the conference which now took place between the two, they decided that it would be best to divide the Confederate force, as had been done before Second Manassas. Lee, in command of one body, was to remain in his present position and keep up the feint of an assault, while Jackson should sweep across Hooker's entire front and endeavor to overwhelm his distant right wing by a rush from the west. No bolder movement could be conceived.

On the following morning, when Jackson's column started upon its supremely adventurous march, Lee stationed himself by the roadside to salute the regiments as they should go by, and here he and his great lieutenant exchanged the last words that passed between the two. There were twenty-six thousand men in Jackson's column, which stretched out the length of ten miles. In the course of the march, which led through a tangled wilderness all the way, there were only three intervals of rest, and these lasted for twenty minutes only. The advance across his front was not unobserved by the Federal commander, but he was under the delusion that the Confederate army was in retreat. Arriving at the two parallel roads which ran down from Orange to Chancellorsville, Jackson wheeled his troops towards the east and in a short time came full upon Howard's corps, the Federal right wing—which was engaged in cooking its evening meal—and drove it back pell-mell towards Chancellorsville. His aim was to cut Hooker's entire army off from the fords of the Rappahannock, upon which it was relying for escape in case of defeat.

When darkness fell upon the scene, Jackson's corps had arrived within a mile of Chancellorsville. At nine o'clock at

PLATE XVIII. *From the monument in Charlottesville, Virginia, by Charles Keck. Presented to his native town by Paul Goodloe McIntyre, Esq. Photo Holsinger.*

GENERAL THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON—
"STONEWALL"

night, when he was still determined to press on the assault in spite of the day's long march, he and members of his staff rode forward through the woods, to reconnoiter. While doing so, they received full in the face a volley from a Confederate detachment which had mistaken them for the enemy. Jackson was severely wounded and had to be carried to the rear. As he was borne along in a state of complete disablement, he said to an officer near him who had expressed the opinion that it would be necessary to fall back, "You must hold your ground, General Pender, you must hold out to the last." The next day, when the battle was renewed, Jackson was too much enfeebled by the amputation of his arm and by other wounds to give orders. Subsequently he was conveyed beyond the range of the battle to a station on the Richmond Railway, where in a small outbuilding he passed away. Before he died he received a note from Lee, in which the honor of the victory was ascribed to him. "General Lee is very kind," he said gently in reply, "but he should give the glory to God." Afterwards Lee sent him word to make haste to get well, "for," said he, "you have lost your left arm, but I have lost my right."

Later on, when the wounded man was told that he would not survive the day, he answered, "Very good, very good. It is all right." Not many moments before he breathed his last, while in a state of delirium, he cried out, "Order A. P. Hill to prepare for action. Pass the infantry to the front." After this he remained silent for a few minutes, and then he was heard to murmur in clear tones, "Let us pass over the river and rest under the shade of the trees." A moment later he expired.

Chapter XV

GENERAL J. E. B. STUART

Like Houston and Stonewall Jackson, General Stuart traced his descent back to a Scotch ancestor, who, in search of fortune and a freer life, had emigrated from North Ireland to the wilderness of western Pennsylvania and afterwards to the fertile but sparsely settled valley of the upper Shenandoah. Here he accumulated a large estate for that period and was followed by a son who won a high reputation for skill and gallantry as an officer in the Revolutionary army. A grandson enjoyed the honor of having sat on the Federal bench in two states and of having filled the post of speaker in the Assembly of one of them in addition. His son, the father of the Confederate general, a lawyer in large practice, occupied nearly every office in the people's gift except that of governor—he was a member of the state legislature, member of the Conventions of 1829–30 and 1850, and member of Congress. On his mother's side, Stuart could lay claim to transmitted Welsh blood of distinction. He was kin through her to two governors famous in their time, namely, Robert Letcher of Kentucky, and John Letcher of Virginia; and he was also connected by a cousin's marriage with the redoubtable Houston, founder of the Republic of Texas.

His early years were spent on a plantation in Patrick County which his mother had inherited from her grandfather, William Letcher, who had been ruthlessly murdered on his own threshold by Tories during the Revolutionary War. The mansion was adorned by the proximity of noble

forest trees; and there was a beautiful garden also, which is said to have been an unfailing delight to the future cavalryman, whose taste for flowers, so constantly displayed even in his hottest campaigns, was thus fostered from his childhood. Not far away was to be seen the towering crest of the Blue Ridge, in the shadow of which was to take place so many of the exploits of his impetuous military career. The old homestead never lost its appealing charm for his affectionate and romantic nature. "When the war is over," he said in confidence to a friend, "I would give anything to spend the rest of my days there."

Stuart had not passed his seventeenth birthday when he was successful in obtaining an appointment to a cadetship at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Here he became a close companion of Fitzhugh Lee, who was afterwards to serve with such brilliant gallantry under his command. Among Stuart's characteristics at this period of his life, according to Lee's recollection, "was his thankful acceptance of every challenge to fight from any cadet, who might, in any way, feel himself aggrieved"; and yet he was known to his fellows as a "Bible Class Man." Indeed, he had become a member of the church while a student of Emory and Henry College. He was then about fifteen years of age. Even at that time, however, he entertained the same view which his father expressed at a later date in a letter to him, "An insult should be resented under all circumstances. If a man in your circumstances [soldier in training] gains credit by submitting to insult as a strict observer of discipline, he loses more in proportion in his standing as a gentleman and a man of courage." It was not long after the receipt of this letter that Stuart found himself involved in another belligerent scrape, which led his father to give him for future guidance a lesson in prudence and forbearance before a difficulty had actually come to a head.

His skill as a horseman at the Military Academy was indicated by his appointment after his graduation to a second lieutenancy in the regiment of mounted riflemen which was engaged in patrolling the wild and remote regions of west-

ern Texas, then infested with the lurking and murderous Apaches and Comanches. He was warmly commended by his superior officer for his extraordinary courage during these excursions, which made him reckless of exposure to danger on the trail traversed by him and his company in the pursuit of the secretive foe through the deep and somber mountain gorges. In 1855, after this experience of rough service on horseback, he was transferred to one of the cavalry regiments organized by the War Department, the affairs of which at that time were administered with such remarkable ability by Secretary Jefferson Davis. He was soon ordered to Fort Leavenworth and while stationed there took an active part in the government's determined effort to suppress as far as possible the merciless conflicts arising from the implacable animosities of the antagonistic settlers. Some strove with the fierce tenacity of bulldogs to keep the soil of Kansas free from slavery; others, with equal resolution, endeavored to fix this institution on that soil inextricably. The terrible struggle for mastery was pressed to the point of the naked sword and the flaming gun, as if a real war were in progress.

During this internecine strife Stuart came to know personally Osawatomie Brown, whom he was to confront again so dramatically in the engine house at Harper's Ferry. He was also on several occasions drawn into hand-to-hand combat with Indian warriors. In one of these he was severely wounded before he could kill his adversary and, as he himself humorously records, was borne off the victorious scene in an open, quickly devised two-wheel ambulance drawn by three mules, a rather rude car of triumph. But this was a contrivance superior to the one used very often in similar emergencies, which consisted of two poles lashed to a single axle-tree, with their ends dragging in parallel lines on the ground. The wounded soldier rested on strips of rawhide.

While stationed at Fort Riley, Stuart invented a saber attachment of sufficient usefulness to justify him in obtaining a patent for it. It was during his stay in Washington, while engaged in negotiating a sale of this invention to the government, that he was ordered to carry to Colonel Robert

E. Lee, then on furlough at Arlington across the Potomac, secret dispatches relating to the attack by Brown and his followers on the town of Harper's Ferry. Lee had been appointed to the command of the marines to be sent to that place for the suppression of the insurrection then in progress, and Stuart, always ready for an adventure, volunteered to serve as his aide. At the moment he, like Lee, was on furlough in the East.

Upon the marines' arrival, Brown and his comrades took refuge in an engine house, carrying with them their numerous captives. Stuart was ordered by Colonel Lee to convey a message to the leader summoning him to surrender. "I approached the door in the presence of, perhaps, ten thousand spectators," Stuart afterwards recorded. "Brown opened the door about four inches, and placed his body against the crack, with a cocked carbine in his hand. The parley with me was a long one. The only condition on which he was willing to surrender was that he and his party should be permitted to escape. Some of his prisoners begged me to ask Colonel Lee to come and see him. I told them that Colonel Lee would never accede to any terms but those he had offered." It had been agreed beforehand that, should Brown refuse to accept these terms, Stuart was to wave his hat above his head as a signal to the marines to rush forward and break into the house, and this was promptly done. It was Stuart who later crossed over into Maryland and inspected the quarters which Brown and his supporters had occupied in secrecy before the raid. Here, in addition to a large quantity of general supplies, he found a magazine of pikes, which he carted away.

So soon as the ordinance of secession was adopted by the Virginia Convention, Stuart sent his resignation to the Secretary of War at Washington. His furlough had not yet expired. He was soon appointed to a lieutenant colonelcy in the Confederate army and without delay was ordered to report to Colonel Thomas J. Jackson, then in command at Harper's Ferry. Two months later he was promoted to a colonelcy, and at the end of another two months he was

raised to the grade of a brigadier-generalship. At first his roster embraced only twenty-one officers and three hundred and thirteen men; but such was his activity, as his forces increased in number, that his commander, General Joseph E. Johnston, when transferred to a district where he would not enjoy the immediate advantage of Stuart's extraordinary vigilance, wrote to him, "How can I eat, sleep, or rest in peace without you upon the outpost?"

When Johnston retired from the Valley in July, 1861, with a view to uniting his forces with those of Beauregard for the purpose of blocking McDowell's advance towards Manassas, Stuart threw out his cavalry to serve as a screen for the movement, and so adroitly did he use his men in this maneuver, that the Federal army near Winchester did not become aware of the Confederate commander's departure for several days. Stuart had then crossed to the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, and so rapidly did he march from this place that he reached the site of the Battle of Bull Run in time to take part in its events. At the turning point of the conflict he was able to protect Jackson's left flank from the enemy by a timely charge of two hundred and sixty cavalrymen; and when the Federal retreat began, he followed the fugitives for a distance of twelve miles, stopping then only because the necessity of accompanying to the rear the captured prisoners had dissipated some of his force. For some time after the battle Stuart concentrated his energies upon annoying the Federal outlying posts, and on several occasions his pickets were stationed in sight of the spires of Washington. In December he was placed in command of a force of sixteen hundred infantry, a battery of artillery, and a small cavalry detachment, for the purpose of protecting a foraging expedition sent out by General Johnston. While performing this duty, he came into collision with a superior body of Federal troops and was compelled to draw off his men, but he did this with a skill which increased his reputation for prudence as well as for gallantry. "Calm, firm, acute, active, and enterprising," said General Johnston at the time, "I know no one more competent than he to estimate

PLATE XIX. *From the painting by Forney in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. Used by courtesy of the Governor of Virginia. Photo Cook.*

GENERAL J. E. B. STUART

the occurrences before him at their true value."

In April, 1862, General McClellan, who had landed with a large army at Fortress Monroe, began to advance towards Yorktown, where General Johnston was entrenched. The Confederate breastworks, however, were not strong enough to be permanently held. After halting the enemy for a month, Johnston ordered his troops to retreat towards Richmond. The protection of his rear in the course of this movement fell to the vigilance of Stuart. During the battle of Williamsburg which soon followed, the horsemen, from the presence of extensive woods, could take no active part in the fighting, but they were held in reserve under fire. Again the cavalry could be of no service at the Battle of Seven Pines, as the terrain partook more or less of the nature of a bushy swamp.

This period of inactivity was abruptly broken in the interval between the twelfth and the fifteenth of June by Stuart's spectacular reconnaissance, which carried him entirely around McClellan's army. Among its purposes was the acquisition of information about the enemy's encampments and communications and the interception of their wagon trains and foraging parties. But the fundamental object of that bold enterprise was really to find out whether the Federal right could be successfully attacked by Jackson's force, if it should be summoned from the Valley to undertake that assault in combination with the rest of General Lee's army.

Stuart set out at the head of twelve hundred cavalrymen, supported by a section of artillery. He took at first the road towards the north and then the road eastwards towards Hanover Courthouse. This place was found to be in possession of a small Federal detachment, which was quickly driven off in confusion. Then the march was resumed down the highway leading still further eastward towards the hamlet of Old Church. On the way to that point a Federal scouting company was encountered, which fell back slowly to Totopotomoi Bridge, where a firm stand was made; but as soon as flanking parties were thrown out by Stuart, it retired precipitately to join the main body stationed further towards the east. This was composed of several squadrons of cavalry,

which only for a short time were able to resist the assault promptly launched against them so soon as they were sighted. In a hand-to-hand combat between Captain Latane of one of the Confederate companies and Captain Royall of one of the Federal, the former officer, who had only a saber for attack and defense, was killed by the latter, who was armed with a pistol. One of the Federal squadrons had formerly constituted a part of the regular army stationed on the plains of Texas before the war, and among the prisoners whom Colonel Fitzhugh Lee now made in a final rush against the enemy were many who had been attached to his command during the military operations in that department.

Here for the first time Stuart determined to push the raid entirely around the Federal host, although he had already accomplished his main purpose, which was to ascertain whether the right wing of the Federals had been advanced as far as Hanover Courthouse. It was not in a spirit of mere adventure, however, that he decided not to go back to the main body of the Confederate army by the route which he had followed so far. After weighing all the contingencies, he concluded that it would be safer for his command to try to find a way out by a ride southward on the rear skirts of the enemy's position, than by a return to Hanover Courthouse. In the first place, it was probable that the latter village was now strongly defended, in anticipation of his retreat; and in the second, a detour northward of this point would be extremely perilous, owing to the presence in that region of McDowell's force, which was expecting to join McClellan on the Chickahominy River.

The route which he finally adopted led his troops first to Tunstall's Station on the York River Railway. At the White House near by was the great depot of supplies which had been collected for the use of the Federal troops. This was strongly guarded. Instead of turning aside to capture the depot, Stuart, after destroying important stores of provisions and forage at the station, advanced to the Chickahominy River, with the intention of crossing it by a ford; but the stream had been swollen by heavy rains and was too deep

and violent to be passed even by swimming. The remains of an old bridge were found further down the river; this was rapidly rebuilt; and in the end the whole command got over to the other side without hostile interference. A distance of twenty miles still lay within the Federal lines. Federal gunboats were anchored in the James not far off, and a Federal detachment held the road nearest to the one which Stuart had to traverse. But these encompassing dangers were eluded, and the brave and adventurous squadrons arrived at Confederate headquarters in safety. Numerous prisoners had been brought out, and also a large drove of valuable horses and mules. But these captures were of small consequence in comparison with the information which had been obtained as to the exact position of McClellan's right wing. This knowledge had a controlling influence on the sanguinary operations which culminated in the subsequent retreat of the enemy to James River.

In these operations Stuart was active in covering Jackson's left flank as it descended from Ashland, and this general part he continued to perform until after the conclusion of the fighting at Gaines Mill and Cold Harbor, when, in order to intercept any attempt by the Federal right wing to retire to the Pamunkey, he moved away in that direction. Ultimately he went as far as Tunstall's Station, which was a warning to the custodians of the Federal supplies at the White House either to destroy them or to remove them to the transports lying in the river. Subsequently Stuart followed the advance of the Confederate army in pursuit of the enemy as they fell back to Harrison's Landing. Near Westover he took possession of Evelington Heights, which commanded the Federal encampment in the vicinity of the James, and opened fire on it; but in the end he was compelled to evacuate his position. Had that position been secured by proper reinforcements the Federal army, being caught in a cul-de-sac, might have found itself in a precarious situation, in spite of the support of its numerous gunboats in the stream behind it.

In July, 1862, Stuart was brevetted to the rank of a

major general, and the cavalry under his leadership was organized into two brigades. The second of these bodies was composed of Virginia regiments under the command of Brigadier General Fitzhugh Lee, while the first was under the command of Brigadier General Wade Hampton. A third was added subsequently. In August these brigades joined Jackson in Piedmont. Stuart was too late to participate in the Battle of Cedar Run, but with his force he was soon engaged in making important reconnaissances for Stonewall Jackson, in the course of one of which he escaped capture by a hair's breadth alone, while exposed with a small escort to a Federal raid.

After General Lee's arrival on the scene, Stuart sought permission to march his cavalry around to the rear of the Federal army as far as the railway line which conveyed to that army its provisions and munitions from the north. His object was to break up the enemy's communications and destroy their stores. Lee, who always encouraged bold enterprises under competent leadership, consented, and Stuart, assembling nearly his whole command, with two pieces of artillery, set out on his mission, which carried him by way of Warrenton as far as Catlett's Station, well behind the Federal encampments. Under the guidance of a Negro whom he had known before the war, he was successful in capturing the wagons belonging to Pope's headquarters; also several officers of Pope's personal staff; but above all, the Federal general's dispatch book, which gave vital information as to his plans and expected reinforcements. But it was found impracticable to set the wooden railway bridge over Cedar Run on fire, owing to its sodden condition from the falling rain; and there were no axes at hand to cut away the supports of the track spanning the half-open floor of the structure. Stuart afterwards withdrew to Warrenton Springs under the cloak of darkness.

One entire Federal army was soon concentrated in that neighborhood. Lee, advancing, attacked it in front while Jackson was stealing through Thoroughfare Gap and marching down at quick step on Bristoe Station in order to

assail that army in the rear. Pope's position at this time was similar to that of a baited bull in the arena, with the picadors lunging at his head and hindquarters simultaneously.

Stuart came up with Jackson at Gainesville, and he was there put in command of the force which was ordered to take possession of Manassas, the principal depot of the Federal troops. After this was effected, with the destruction of an enormous quantity of supplies, he screened the rear and flanks of Jackson's force in the retrograde movement from Manassas to Groveton. Later he formed a junction with Longstreet's corps after it had broken through Thoroughfare Gap; and during the heavy fighting that continued during two days he acted as a vigilant watchdog for both flanks of the Confederate army. A part of his cavalry at one time came into a hand-to-hand struggle with the Federal cavalry under Buford and drove them back to a distant point of the battlefield. During Pope's retreat towards Centerville and Fairfax, Stuart kept up the attack by repeated destructive onsets on the enemy's trains.

In the course of Lee's subsequent advance into Maryland, Stuart was employed in screening the right wing of the Confederate army as it marched, and while he was performing this duty, several of his detachments came into successful conflict with the enemy's scouting squadrons. His command was particularly active in affording the Confederate force assistance in the passage of the gaps of South Mountain, which had to be traversed in the approach to Sharpsburg from the east. Owing to the fact that Jackson's corps was at this time absent at Harper's Ferry, which had not yet surrendered, Lee was left on the Antietam with only four divisions to confront the Federal army when it should arrive. This made it imperative for the mountain passes to be held as a barrier to the advance of that army before he could be reinforced. Although McClellan was fully informed by the finding of a lost order that revealed his opponent's plans and numerical strength, he moved forward with sluggishness. The Confederate defenders of the principal gap, after an unsuccessful resistance, fell back slowly towards Lee's position. This

movement was protected by Stuart's cavalry.

In the great battle that followed at Sharpsburg his squadrons were stationed in support of Jackson's corps on the Confederate left wing, which in the beginning was the principal object of the enemy's assault. The first information of the Federal advance in this direction was brought by the cavalry, and Jackson's position was at once strengthened to meet the impending onset. In the bloody conflict which ensued on this wing, Stuart maintained a furious enfilading fire against the enemy's right flank until pressed back by the terrific impact of superior numbers. The fight in this section of the field for a long time swayed backwards and forwards. During its progress there was scant opportunity in the mêlée for the active use of cavalry, but a great service was performed by Stuart in firmly holding an open space situated beyond Jackson's left wing, which, had it continued unoccupied, would have opened to the Federals a way to crush the Confederate center by driving upon it the defeated Confederate left. It was by the use of his artillery alone that Stuart was able to retain this ground, so vital to the safety of the Confederate army as a whole. In the struggle along the line of the left wing, four Confederate divisions, by shattering three corps of the Federal army, balked the latter's advance in that vital quarter of the battlefield and thus also prevented them from turning afterwards on the flank of the Confederate center.

When Lee withdrew across the Potomac on the second night after the engagement, the movement was covered by one of Stuart's brigades. Subsequently the demonstrations of his cavalry on the Maryland side were influential in diverting the attention of the crowding enemy from the retreating army.

While Lee was encamped at Martinsburg, a raid on Chambersburg in the Cumberland Valley was made by Stuart at the head of a large body of troopers. He set out at night in order to conceal his start and subsequent progress from the Federal signal stations. So soon as he entered Pennsylvania, he required a receipt to be given by his men to every farmer

or storekeeper whose supplies were seized for the sustenance of either soldier or horse. The story is told that several of his cavalrymen drew up at a house occupied by the wives, young children, and infants of the owners who had fled. A surly refusal was returned to a polite request for food. "Casting a wolfish glance upon the babies," says the recorder of the incident, "a lean fellow remarked that he had never been in the habit of eating human flesh, but that he was now hungry enough for anything, and if he could get nothing else, he believed that he would compromise on one of the babies. It is hardly necessary to say that the mother's heart relented, and a bountiful repast was soon provided."

Chambersburg was occupied on the tenth of October, and its people were shown extraordinary consideration in spite of their hostile attitude. The Confederate cavalrymen, having as a rule been drawn from the highest social class of the South, were the more disposed to obey the humane orders of their commanders because in harmony with their own trained instincts.

Stuart decided to return to Lee by way of Emmittsburg on the eastern slope of the mountains, since he felt sure that the report of his raid to the north must have resulted in a careful guarding of the fords of the Potomac. After evacuating Emmittsburg, he marched, in the interval of a day and night, sixty-five miles without leaving behind any part of his artillery. This was because the ample number of fresh horses enabled changes to be made in the teams every few hours. So encompassed were the raiders by the Federals that McClellan, learning of their presence, said he "did not think that it would be possible for them to escape across the river." It was at the mouth of the Monocacy that Pleasanton, who commanded the Federal cavalry in pursuit, expected Stuart to swim or wade the Potomac. But Stuart was in reality making for Whitesford, which, on his arrival there, he found to be in the possession of a formidable hostile detachment. This force retreated when the Confederates drew near. The pieces of artillery were hurried over to the other bank, and from a bluff they were turned towards the north shore for the pro-

tection of the cavalrymen splashing through the water. The horsemen were successful in getting across, although the Federal troops that swarmed at their back kept up a constant fire on their ranks. The only casualty of the raid was the wounding of one soldier. In twenty-seven hours Stuart had traversed eighty miles, destroyed $250,000 worth of property, and brought off safely many hundreds of prisoners.

In the interval of time between the close of this raid and the concentration of the Confederate army on the hills south of Fredericksburg, the cavalry under Stuart was engaged in the active service of detecting the movements of the advancing enemy or in screening the march of Lee, as he fell back for the protection of Richmond. There were from day to day numerous reconnaissances that covered the immediate neighborhood or extended deep within the Federal line towards the east and north.

During the Battle of Fredericksburg the nature of the ground occupied by the two opposing armies did not give much scope for cavalry maneuvers. Fitzhugh Lee's brigade was employed in keeping guard over the fords above the town, while Stuart was posted in person on the Confederate right along the lines of Massaponax Creek, which flowed into the Rappahannock south of the Confederate main position. As the enemy advanced from the base of Stafford Heights across the plain, they were confronted by the single gun of Major Pelham, of Stuart's command, which held their left up for an hour. When the Federal army came near the foot of the hills, Pelham, now in charge of a number of rifle guns, opened up an enfilading fire which grew more fierce when the enemy recoiled and retreated towards the river. The guns followed this movement and continued their bombardment until the shattered Federal forces got out of range. On the following day it is reported that General Jackson, who with Lee had watched with admiration Pelham's defiance of the Federal left wing on the plain and his effective use of his batteries afterwards, said to Stuart, "Have you another Pelham, General? If so, I wish you would give him to me."

In December, while the two hostile armies were reposing in winter quarters, Stuart, at the head of eighteen thousand men, penetrated as far behind the enemy's lines as the village of Occoquan. At Burke's Station on the railway he substituted a telegraph operator of his own for the Federal operator captured there and was thus able to obtain official information as to the measures which had been adopted for his interception. Before he left the station, he sent a message to General Meigs, the quartermaster-general at Washington, complaining in his own name that "the quality of the mules recently furnished the Federal army was so inferior as to greatly embarrass him [Stuart] in moving his captured wagons."

Before the campaign of Chancellorsville opened in the spring of 1863, the cavalry under General Fitzhugh Lee had had a sharp brush with the enemy's horsemen at Kelly's Ford. When the main part of the great army under Hooker later on crossed the upper Rappahannock and took position south of that stream, General Stoneman, in command of the Federal cavalry, which numbered about eleven thousand men, was ordered to advance by way of Culpeper Courthouse to Gordonsville and Charlottesville. Afterwards he was to march down the Central Railway as far as its junction with the Fredericksburg Railway and from that point to destroy this latter highway towards the north by tearing up the track and burning the bridges. The object of this maneuver was to compel the Confederate army to retreat either southward, in order to protect its communication with Richmond, or westward towards the mountains, in order to secure supplies. To stop the Stoneman raid before it could make any alarming progress, Stuart had available only about two thousand cavalrymen, with which he was also expected to cover a front of fifty miles. At the same time he was required to hold a permanent position as a part of the left wing of Lee's army. Apparently Stoneman's services were also needed nearer the scene, for his raid as planned was not fully carried out.

By May 1 Lee had concentrated the principal section of

his troops in the neighborhood of Hooker at Chancellorsville. In this forward movement the cavalry protected both flanks of the Confederate forces. On the next day, when Jackson's march across the Federal front began, the cavalry detachment that was screening the Confederate left joined his corps and by its activity prevented the enemy from breaking through the line of advance. The long procession of regiments was led by Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry. While waiting at a later hour of that day at a remote point on the road for the main column to come up, this officer took advantage of the short interval of rest to mount to the top of a neighboring height and reconnoiter. He found that the exact position of the Federal right wing was from here clearly visible. Jackson was informed of this fact, and the faces of his troops were turned eastward along two close parallel highways, to make the assault on the unsuspecting enemy. There was no opportunity for the use of the cavalry as a whole in the fight in the thick woods which followed; and Stuart was therefore instructed to hold the road which ran back to Ely's ford on the Rappahannock. It was while he was here that a courier arrived to announce that both Jackson and Hill had been struck down and that he must take command at once in their place.

Midnight passed before he could reach the line of battle. There were perplexing conditions confronting him: Jackson's disablement had caused depression among the fatigued soldiers; the wounded leader's plans were entirely unknown to his successor; and that successor was also in the dark as to the real positions of his new troops. He was left to the exercise of his own judgment, which was made all the more difficult by his ignorance of the terrain. Moreover, the enemy had recovered from the confusion into which Jackson's onset had thrown them.

The next day Stuart, who had not thought it advisable to continue the previous night attack until morning, occupied the high ground overlooking the cleared area around Chancellorsville and enfiladed the Federal line. The struggle now began for this open space, which was defended by Federal

intrenchments. The enemy were ultimately driven back into the thick woods situated north of that place. Stuart participated in person in the charges which brought this about, and as he did so, he was heard singing above the rattling noise of battle, "Old Joe Hooker, won't you get out of the wilderness." On the second day, while Lee at Salem Church was attacking Sedgwick's corps, which was marching up from Fredericksburg, his great cavalry leader remained in command of the troops at Chancellorsville, and until the Federal army withdrew across the river, after successfully withstanding a second assault on their breastworks, he exhibited the same mastery of the situation and the same ability to handle infantry as well as horsemen as he had done from the threshold of his new duties. It was perhaps one of the errors of the war on the Confederate side that he was not continued in the same command when the Confederate army began its advance towards the Cumberland Valley.

On May 22 he held a review of his cavalry division encamped in the vicinity of Brandy Station. It numbered at this time about four thousand men but was afterwards doubled by the arrival of two additional brigades. To weeks later a review of his entire force was held by him, and on the following day, another by Lee and himself in concert. It was observed that Lee forbade the passing of the troops at a gallop or the working of the guns. He thought that the strength of man, horse, and artillery alike should be fostered for the approaching campaign in Pennsylvania, to which region he had now decided to lead his army. The Federal cavalry, whose grandiose plan of riding southward far in the rear of the Confederate army at Chancellorsville had, as we have mentioned already, ended in nothing of practical service to Hooker, was now marching towards Stuart's position, with the intention of making a vigorous assault. A battle soon took place, in which three divisions of Federal cavalry and two brigades of Federal infantry came into collision with five brigades of Confederate horsemen. In the end the enemy withdrew from the field.

In the course of Lee's progress through northern Vir-

ginia, in carrying out the campaign that was to culminate at Gettysburg, the cavalry arm was drawn into several hot brushes with the enemy: first at Aldie; then at Middleburg; and lastly at Upperville. Stuart adopted a defensive attitude in these engagements, for his brigades were outnumbered by those operating under Pleasanton's leadership. While encamped in the vicinity of Middleburg, he submitted to Lee a plan under which his command was to pass through a gap of the Bull Run Mountains and creep completely behind the Federal army. It was then to advance between that army and Washington as far as the Potomac, and having crossed this stream, to move northward until a junction had been formed with the Confederate main force at some point either in Maryland or Pennsylvania. Stuart expected to march so rapidly that he would be able to catch up with Lee in time to post himself on the Confederate right flank and keep its commander continuously informed of the progress of the Federal army.

He set out with three brigades on the twenty-third of June. On the twenty-eighth, after skirting the Federal army, he crossed into Maryland. Here he lost time in capturing a long train of Federal supply wagons, which he persisted in holding in his grip until his arrival at Gettysburg. Minutes now counted as hours, and this impediment to speed proved calamitous. Time was also lost in breaking up the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

Stuart had gone as far north as Carlisle before he obtained any accurate information as to the Confederate army's exact position; he there received an urgent order from Lee to turn back towards Gettysburg; but it was not until the afternoon of July 2 that he arrived on the battlefield. He then stationed his fatigued horsemen on the Confederate left wing. The only advantage to the Southern cause rendered by his roundabout march lay in his having compelled the Federal army to move with greater slowness than it would have done had the Confederate cavalry remained all this time in immediate contact with the infantry. On the third day of the battle he came into collision with the Federal

cavalry and was able to hold his position until darkness fell. He then withdrew to the turnpike that ran towards the town of York.

On the night of the fourth Stuart's brigades retired with the other Confederate forces in the direction of the Potomac. The highway which his cavalry traversed ran towards Hagerstown. During several days previous to the twelfth he covered the front of the Confederate army as it waited near the river for the waters to subside. He was constantly engaged while here in resisting the attacks of the Federal cavalry and was successful in delaying the advance of the main body of the enemy.

After Lee's retirement into Virginia, the Confederate army was engaged, previous to the winter of 1863-64, in few operations of great importance; but in every movement that did take place at that time the cavalry performed an active and vigilant part. When the campaign opened in the Wilderness later on, Sheridan, with a large cavalry force, attempted to carry out a raid against Richmond from Fredericksburg. He was at once followed, and at Beaver Dam his rear guard was overtaken by Stuart at the head of his united brigades. The van of Sheridan's command had passed on southward. In order to intercept this advance guard, Stuart with two brigades hurried forward to Hanover Junction and then turned quickly towards Ashland, when informed of the enemy's presence there. In order to interpose between Sheridan and the Confederate capital, he halted his cavalrymen at Yellow Tavern on the Brook Road leading to that city. Here his force was attacked by a brigade of Federal cavalry. He rode at once to the front, and as he was driving back the enemy, a Federal soldier who was running by him on foot, fired at him at close quarters, wounding him fatally. As he was being carried off the field, he noticed that some of his command were retiring in haste. "Go back! Go back!" he exclaimed, "and do your duty as I have done mine, and our country will be safe. I had rather die than be whipped."

These were his last words on a battlefield. Not long before he expired in Richmond, to which place he had been re-

moved, he said, "I am resigned. God's will be done."

"Stuart's men," a member of his staff has recorded, "treated him more like the chief huntsman of a hunting pack than as a major-general." "His uniform," we learn from another of his biographers, "showed his love of gay colors—gold braid and buttons, that shone brilliantly, adorned his jacket. From his hat, looped up on one side by a golden star, a large plume always floated; his cape, which he usually wore thrown back over his shoulders, was lined with scarlet; his spurs were made of the purest gold; and he not infrequently appeared on the parade and on the march with his horse's neck wreathed in brightly tinted flowers. Riding at the head of his column in the course of a raid that may have taken him far behind the enemy's lines, and even when charging at the head of his men, he would burst out into song, indifferent to the clatter of the march or the storm of bursting shell, as if for him the shadow of death had in it something stimulating and exhilarating."

Chapter XVI

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

THE NATIVE American ancestry of Woodrow Wilson did not reach further back than his father. His grandfather and grandmother on the paternal side, and even his mother, were European immigrants. His forebears, unlike those of so many of his predecessors in the White House, had had no part in the settlement of the Atlantic Coast or in the subsequent extension of the frontier beyond the Alleghenies. They had had no part in any of the forest battles and hand-to-hand fights which had torn the soil from the Indians' tenacious grasp. They had had no part in the Revolution, which threw off the domination of the British. They had had no part in the second war of independence, or in the war with Mexico, which spread American sovereignty to the waters of the Pacific. In not one single movement of great national importance, except the War of 1861-65, had they had the smallest share; and in this, members of the family had served on both sides.

The father of President Wilson was born in Ohio, a state that raised abolition to the status of a religion and started the wheels of the underground railway to revolving. He was educated principally in Pennsylvania, where the public sentiment for emancipation was vigorous and uncompromising. It was from these hotbeds of Negro partisanship that he, accompanied by the President's future mother, removed when called to the charge of the Presbyterian Church in Staunton, Virginia. There is no indication that before he emigrated to the South he had grown to sympathize with the crusade

against slavery which had already risen to such vociferousness of abusive declamation in the North. Certainly from the hour of his occupying his new pulpit he was apparently as congenially in touch with the Southern people as if he had drawn his first breath among them and by early training had become deeply imbued with the genius of their social and economic system, so repugnant to the system in his previous homes and even to his family. For two brothers served as general officers in the Federal army. The Southern Confederacy had no more loyal and conscientious supporters than the two sturdy Northerners, Dr. Joseph Wilson and Dr. Woodrow, the father and the uncle of the future President. Stout Presbyterians in faith, perhaps their belief in the doctrine of predestination had something to do with their easy and whole-hearted acceptance of the institution of slavery.

It was at Staunton, a small town in the famous and fertile Valley of Virginia, that Thomas Woodrow Wilson was born. He was not an alien in blood because his father and mother were offspring of other communities. In reality, he was one in lineage with these serious-minded people of the Valley in whose midst he first looked out on the world, for he, too, was a Scotch-Irishman by descent—pure Scotch, pure Irish, a Celt through and through, without any intermixture of a continental strain. And he was a Calvinist to the very backbone. Woodrow, who was known as Tommy until he had passed his majority, did not linger long enough among these Scotch-Irish kinsmen of his in the great Valley to catch any of the local color and idiosyncrasy. He was a child of two years only when he was carried off to Georgia by his parents, for his father had been called to a pulpit in Augusta. It is quite improbable that the future President in after life could recall a single incident of his sojourn in Virginia. The next time he returned to his native state was to matriculate in its University, which was situated just forty miles from Staunton on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge, where he remained only one year and a few months.

His first formal lessons in textbooks were received in a

private school which was under the care of a competent scholar of the old type. Here he was a companion pupil with a future justice of the Supreme Court, Lamar, and with a future foreign minister, Stovall. At home at this time he read Thackeray and Scott and the Lake Poets with his parents, who, though staunch Calvinists, were too wise to bar works of imagination. But his experience of heroes at this hour was not limited to the phantom knights of fiction. In 1865, while peeping through the blinds of his father's manse, he had seen Davis and Stephens passing in a carriage on their way to a Federal prison; and in 1870, when General Lee was visiting Augusta in search of health, the wondering little boy had stood for a moment at his side and looked up into his grave face. Here was a genuine paladin in flesh and blood, whom he was to remember with vivid admiration to his last hour.

When his father was appointed to a chair in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, the boy was brought abruptly very close to the repulsive vestiges of the late hostilities, for much of the city's business area still lay in ashes; and here, too, he saw that most monkey-like of all modern travesties on government, a legislative assembly composed for the most part of raw cottonfield Negroes. Here the youthful Woodrow took private lessons in preparation for Davidson College, a nursery of vigorous Presbyterianism. Then for the first time in his life he was sent away from home. The seat of learning which he now entered inculcated a spirit of extreme self-reliance. Its students waited upon themselves; cut their own wood; kindled their own fires; trimmed their own lamps. Woodrow had no taste for the college games. The necessity of wearing spectacles would alone have stood in his way even if his preference had not been for intellectual recreation. Indeed, at this time, as throughout his early years, he did not possess physical stamina enough even for laborious study; and in order to recover his shattered health, he had to return to his father's manse in Wilmington, where the family were now planted.

During the ensuing twelve months he was chiefly engaged

in building up his strength by boating on the Cape Fear River and roaming in the woods near the town, or by loafing about the wharves, which were the haunts of groups of idling seamen from many lands. He afterwards admitted that he felt sometimes inclined, in these associations with sailors, to run away to sea, a calling for which he was, on account of his poor eyes alone, as unfitted as he was for a game of baseball.

Dropping this desultory life of reading and sauntering, Wilson in his eighteenth year entered Princeton College, an institution of Presbyterian sympathies, from which in 1879 he was graduated as a member of a class destined to win unusual distinction. During his career there he exhibited a keen relish for the science of government. The atmosphere in which he lived was cultured to an extraordinary degree, and therefore was more in harmony with his intellectual tastes than any which he had ever before breathed. And yet he was not above accepting the position of president of the baseball team, in spite of his defective vision. But it was as manager, and not as player, that he won his spurs in this province of sport. The library continued to be the haunt most congenial to his natural bent. There he found his highest satisfaction, not in specific studies, but in miscellaneous reading. This occupation of his time was reflected in the fact that he stood only forty-first in his class. He was, indeed, the last on the honor roll in a list of one hundred and twenty-six graduates. His talent for public speaking was greater than his talent for writing. In his written compositions during this period of his life the expression was finer than the thought. He became editor of the college weekly paper; and he varied his duties in that office, as well as in the office of president of the athletic association, by singing in the glee club and warmly nursing his friendships with his classmates.

From Princeton Wilson turned to the University of Virginia to study law under the famous teacher of that science, John B. Minor. Here he was known as a laborious student, a keen debater, and a tenor of considerable skill. He contributed to the college magazine two essays—the one on John

Bright, the other on Gladstone—each of such merit that he afterwards said of them, "I am chagrined to find that my style has not improved since I wrote them." Here in the debating society he found a successful rival just as he found one in the race for the literary medal. Acute ill health overtook him before the end of his last session, just as it had done in Davidson College, and he went back to his home in Wilmington without his degree.

He opened a law office in Atlanta, and while waiting for clients who never stepped across his doorsill, he cultivated further the taste which he had already exhibited for public questions by writing a treatise on the subject of congressional government in the United States. Possibly it was this congenial work, or his dislike of the pursuit of law, or the prospect of a long engagement to Miss Axson, his future wife, which led him to drop his law books and turn to a quicker and more certain means of earning a livelihood for two. This he thought was to be looked for only in the calling of the pedagogue, and he therefore entered Johns Hopkins University for additional training. This was the fourth college to form the composite alma mater which afterwards claimed him as a son.

From the foregoing it may be seen that Wilson so far was the offspring of academic influences spread over many years. Indeed, he did not end his course as a pupil until he had reached his twenty-ninth year, and he passed at once from that rôle in one college to the rôle of instructor in another. As instructor or as college administrator he was to remain until his formal entry into politics as governor of New Jersey. It was an atmosphere in which knowledge of the great world of affairs could not be learned except in a theoretical, detached way. It was the atmosphere for which he was best fitted by temperament, by talents, and by accumulated knowledge. For in temperament he was distinctly dictatorial in the pedagogic sense; in talents, he possessed an extraordinary power of lucid and voluminous exposition; and in knowledge, he was fully equipped, by previous study and independent thought, to discuss the themes which he con-

sidered in his lectures. His mind at this time did not seem to have been seriously directed, even as a form of diversion, to the lighter subjects that enlist the scholar's attention. The only kind of verse which he was capable of producing with success was a limerick. None of the great masters of fiction apparently appealed to him irresistibly in these years of teaching. His book companions were the works of political students and political orators. In his eyes Burke was greater than Shakespeare, and Bagehot than Poe. It was history, government, and economics that fascinated his acute and brilliant, but cold and matter-of-fact intellect. In these years of giving instruction to others he seems to have had no purely literary by-tastes of his own.

Young Wilson's first call was to a chair in the woman's college at Bryn Mawr, but the feminine intellect in that institution had not at the time intruded sufficiently far into the province of interests exclusively political to take a vigorous hold on the subjects he taught there. He was really in a false position; and not through his own deficiencies, but through those of his youthful female pupils, he failed to win popularity with them, in spite of his admitted capacity as a lecturer. Possibly there was something lacking in his exterior personality, something too rigid and unresponsive in his individuality to attract his female hearers. He proved more successful at Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Connecticut, for here his audiences were members of his own sex who knew that the economic and political affairs of the country were not to be mere abstractions in their future lives—as they would be in the lives of most of the young women of Bryn Mawr—but conditions quite certainly to be to them of intimate and practical importance. The radical difference for him between the new situation in Connecticut and the old in Pennsylvania was silently demonstrated by his elevation at Wesleyan to the office of coach for the football team. Once more he found himself in the kingdom of men. He is even known to have saved a game of football for his college by coming forward in the arena and opportunely raising a yell that enheartened his side once more.

At this time he was deep in the composition of his *History of the American People*, a pretentious book that disclosed only too plainly the limitations of his intellect, keen as it was, just as his lectures revealed that intellect in its widest capacity. How different his pupils' bearing in the classroom at Middletown from that in the classroom at Bryn Mawr a short time before! The girls, indifferent to his crystal-like elucidations in the choicest language, had impolitely gaped in his face. At Wesleyan, on the other hand, one of his students records, "We were so interested in the diction and body of his discourse that we forgot to take notes." He won not only his listeners' attention, but also their affection, for he relished a joke as hugely as they did and was not above enlivening the thread of his comments with a sprightly anecdote or a touch of delicate humor.

Professor Wilson was only fulfilling his manifest destiny when he accepted a call to Princeton to occupy the chair of jurisprudence. Here he enjoyed a large opportunity to employ his already prolific pen, but its products continued to be almost entirely designed for advanced students in college. They confirmed the accuracy of his own assertion about himself when he said that he possessed "a single track mind," for the subjects of his writings were generally confined to the subjects of his discourses in his lecture-room. Now, as in the previous scenes of his scholastic life, he showed himself to be gifted with an acute intellect. But still at Princeton, as at Wesleyan, he won his classes' admiration, not so much by his stark ability as a teacher, great as it was, as by his remarkable personality as a man. It is recorded of him that he was on four successive occasions voted by the seniors to be, with them at least, the most popular member of the faculty.

Apparently he was solely occupied with the tasks of his professorship, but beneath the surface there smoldered a lurking political ambition, which, from the first hour of his incumbency of the presidency of Princeton was to grow stronger until it should begin to color the performance even of his academic duties. It was in 1902 that he was chosen to that conspicuous and influential office, the first of an admin-

istrative nature for him to fill. Perhaps the most significant aspect of his election was that he was known to have previously expressed his strong preference for the humanities over the sciences as a nutritive element in education. And it was now anticipated that the weight of Princeton's example would be thrown on the side of the idealistic, instead of the practical, in the acquisitions of the classroom. It has been justly said of his work during these first years of his college presidency that he exercised a powerful influence in checking "the Germanic invasion" of American seats of learning and that he gave a new dignity to college education by representing it, not so much as a means of winning future success in business or professional pursuits, but as a means—rather vaguely stated at the time—"of understanding and enjoying the world." He had been lifted from a purely pedagogic position to an office calling for a broad capacity to deal with great administrative questions that often reached from the surface of a single university's affairs down to the bedrock of the American economic, social, and political system. He was now forty-six years old and in the prime of his intellectual powers.

In the struggle with his academic associates, in which he was so soon to be plunged in performing his new duties, he had to overcome certain personal handicaps which had not played any part in his life as a professor. The worst of these were a quick dictatorial temper, a relentless and pertinacious spirit when opposed, and a strange knack for alienating friendships without any real provocation. The first unpopular policy which he adopted limited the number of students admissible to the University. This was accomplished by raising the entrance requirements. Many young men who considered that they had a hereditary right to enrollment were turned back at the threshold. Bad feeling followed, but the consequences were not especially disturbing, for it was recognized that the enforcement of a more rigid standard in the admissions was not open to legitimate criticism, however disagreeable in its impression on the minds of unsuccessful applicants.

PLATE XX. *Photo Gramstorff.*

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

But the bold and determined tilt which Wilson as President of Princeton made against the aristocratic clubs raised something more than a stifling cloud of academic dust. It seems that in their freshman year the students were massed in a strictly democratic way in the college commons. There were no fences of any sort in existence anywhere within the precincts to separate them; but in the sophomore year the fraternal ranks were broken, and a large proportion of the young men were asked to join the exclusive eating clubs, the means employed to evade the faculty rule prohibiting secret associations. Each club was in possession of a house offering every comfort and convenience under its roof, and shut off from the unelect of the three higher classes who had been left to remain in the promiscuous commons of the freshman year.

It had appeared to Wilson, quite probably from the beginning of his connection with Princeton, that these clubs were inconsistent with a pure academic democracy, and it is equally probable that he had always been of the opinion that the sophomore, junior, and senior classes should as a body be required to eat at the same tables with the freshman class. This was certainly his conviction as President of the University. In other words, no social division, in his judgment, should be permitted from the beginning to the end of the four years, even if necessary arbitrary interference had to be used to prevent it. As the first step to this consummation, he suggested the purchase of the eating club-houses by the corporation and their employment for other college purposes. The commonwealth of students were to pass their terms in what was to be known, when constructed, as the Gothic Quadrangle, which was to consist of dormitories, a commons hall, and lounging quarters, where the spirit of democratic equality was to prevail in its most perfect form.

Unfortunately for the success of this scheme, which in the opinion of many persons had a perceptible political squint in it, although reasonable enough from a democratic social point of view, an enormous sum would be needed to realize it.

The majority of the trustees were reluctant to undertake it—first, because its general effect would be to discourage the wealthy members of the alumni from making further gifts; and secondly, because the existing resources of the institution would be taxed to meet the cost. Some of the members of the board had already begun to suspect that the President, in pushing his plan for presumptive equality, was not really considering the University's interests alone, but had a definite eye also to his own political elevation.

The next proposal by him was almost as radical. He urged the adoption of the preceptor system, which had been suggested to him by his admiration for the English tutorial system. This, too, would impose a heavy expense. But neither in this connection nor in connection with the purchase of the eating clubhouses did Wilson seriously regard the costs that would be entailed. "The way to finance a new thing in College," he is reported to have remarked with philosophical sententiousness, "is to try it, and it will finance itself." Opposition to his plans quickly raised a formidable head, representing all the wealth and social prestige to be found among the students and the alumni. The President endeavored to combat this opposition by a series of addresses to the Princeton alumni associations scattered throughout the country.

But a new cause of controversy arose when he showed a steadily diminishing interest in the expansion of the graduate school, as advocated by its dean, a man of learning, ability, and firmness of purpose. Apparently the difference between Wilson and West concerned only the location of the school buildings, but Wilson's opposition, which was veiled at first, was really based on a suspicion that the school itself was in the end to be kept aloof from the University at large. At least this was the not unreasonable charge of his supporters. The graduate school, they said, would soon become as distinct an entity as the Theological Seminary itself. A sense of jealousy seems to have been aroused in the President, mixed with the very genuine fear lest the school of the graduates should in time overshadow the school of the undergraduates. The Board of Trustees was torn into two factions by

this antagonism; and in the one hostile to Wilson was Grover Cleveland, a resident trustee, and formerly his warm personal friend.

Dean West was offered the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but declined it when urged by a resolution of the trustees, signed by Wilson among others, to remain. He and his backers interpreted this as authority to push more vigorously than ever the expansion of the graduate school along the lines which he had been pursuing. But this renewed activity only served to strengthen Wilson's alarm. Would not the increase in the graduate school's expenses result in the absorption of the money which he intended to use in developing the University at large, but especially in building the democratic quadrangle, which he was so anxious to carry through? The smooth waters of the early part of his administration had gradually become a stormy and turbid sea of bad feeling, because the man at the top had certain ideas of his own which he seemed to be determined to enforce, regardless of their acceptability to the most influential alumni of the institution. Here in a microcosm was Wilson's action when he endeavored to overcome the opposition to the League of Nations in the Senate. There was no spirit of finesse or conciliation or compromise in him at that hour; and as he went down in defeat in his struggle with that body because he refused to show these qualities, so he went down in defeat in his equally unyielding struggle for academic and educational democracy at Princeton. In that limited sphere men hated him as virulently as they afterwards hated him when he was established in the White House, and at bottom for the same reason, namely, his intolerance of a difference of opinion on the part of friend or foe in any matter which concerned him closely.

The contention with Dean West was brought to a head by Mr. Procter's offer of a half million dollars for the expansion of the graduate school, on condition that another half million should be raised. Wilson urged hesitation on the ground that to take the money would be incompatible with the schemes which he had been advocating and which

the majority of the trustees had been approving, during the previous seven years. He protested against the influence which wealth was seeking to exercise in the scholastic life of Princeton. "I cannot accede to the acceptance of gifts," he wrote at the time, "which take the educational policy of the university out of the hands of the trustees and faculty, and permit it to be determined by those who give money."

In employing this language, which seems sane enough, Wilson was accused of demagoguery by his enemies because he had not, during his career previous to this controversy, shown any strong love of democracy, in either his written or his spoken words. Nor had he exhibited any antipathy to wealth in itself. This was the day when Roosevelt was scourging the "malefactors" of great fortunes from the temple, and the condemnation of the rich was very popular with the man in the street. But the alumni of Princeton University apparently did not share this feeling, certainly not when it stood in the way of the further endowment of their alma mater. In consequence of this fact, there was an outcry from them against the declination of Procter's gift; and from none was this outcry more vigorous and more rancorous than from Wilson's opponents on the Board of Trustees.

Having first taken a holiday in Bermuda, he set out on a tour of the West, where he delivered a series of almost passionate addresses to the Princeton alumni in advocacy of his plans for the quadrangle and for educational democracy in general. His speeches frequently took a political turn, in which he dwelt with special emphasis on the subservient spirit of American colleges in their attitude towards the "great money power" of the country. The impression was created, whether correctly or not, that he was bidding for the nomination to the presidency of the United States; and his subsequent letters revealed that from now on he considered his views more and more in their political bearing, probably because he anticipated that he would ultimately be compelled to withdraw from Princeton. At the moment when he seemed to have triumphed over his opponents on the Board of Trustees and among the alumni, a thunderbolt fell

which took the ground completely from under his feet. Isaac C. Wyman of Massachusetts died, and his will revealed that he had left $10,000,000 to the graduate school of Princeton! "We never can overcome ten millions," Wilson is reported to have said in a mournful tone, when informed of the gift; and his prediction turned out to be correct. He was beaten.

In June, 1910, the same year, his name was first mentioned as that of a probable candidate for governor of New Jersey. It had already been brought forward by George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, as the name of a man of the right quality even for the presidency of the United States.

Former Senator Smith, also of New Jersey, the most astute and powerful of its bosses, soon began to consider Wilson's availability for the chief magistracy of that commonwealth. It is said that Wilson at this time had never been in the courthouse of the county in which he resided or under the roof of the state house at Trenton. Nor had he ever been present even at a ward caucus. But when the next Democratic Convention of New Jersey met, he was nominated by a handsome majority of the delegates and in due course elected. Subsequent to this event—the credit of which Smith justly claimed—the former Senator, bent upon reëlection to his old seat in Washington, determined to ignore the nomination of James E. Martine in the primary which had already taken place. At this time the legislature chose the United States senators, but it was thought to be under a moral obligation to obey the previous popular vote. Arraying himself against his political creator, Wilson frankly announced that he was in favor of Martine, and in public speeches supported his right of priority. Wilson was successful in his advocacy, and from that time he was the undisputed master of Smith and of all the other New Jersey bosses.

Wilson was stigmatized as an ingrate by the disconcerted local politicians, but this did not disturb his equanimity or discourage him from carrying through his legislative program. Nor did a certain aloofness in his association with the public men of the state, which he tried in vain to overcome,

scotch his domination. As Governor, he pursued a policy which made him the head of the progressive wing in the Democratic party throughout the Union, and his course drew to him all the more attention because he was perceptibly not of the stripe of the typical officeholder, even of the higher order. Indeed, this was a novel figure which had appeared in the arena of politics; but the new leader was just as resolutely and shrewdly bent upon his own advancement as the most veteran political boss in the country. With an eye to enhancing his own fortunes by expounding his political doctrines in person, he made speaking tours through different parts of the country, and it was in the course of such a visit to Texas that he came under the scrutinizing eye of the judicious Colonel E. M. House, who during several years was destined to play the part of his sagacious and disinterested adviser in many menacing emergencies.

Another friendship, formed somewhat earlier, went on the rocks about this time. Colonel Harvey had, as we have already mentioned, been the first to bring Wilson's name forward publicly as that of a man eminently fitted for the office of president. He had remained loyal to Wilson, although the general policy of *Harper's Weekly*, which he edited, was not in harmony with the progressive policy so persistently proclaimed by his friend, the Governor of New Jersey. *Harper's Weekly* belonged to the famous firm of Harper Brothers, who were supposed to be under financial obligation to the powerful bankers, J. P. Morgan and Company. It followed logically that the assistance of Harvey, the employee of Harper Brothers, the beneficiaries of J. P. Morgan and Company, was calculated to spread a notion in the ranks of Wilson's progressive supporters—particularly in the suspicious West—that he was coquetting with the reactionary influences of Wall Street. Soon Wilson, thinking quite naturally more solicitously of his chances for the presidency than of his gratitude to Colonel Harvey for his volunteered backing, dropped the remark that he thought the Colonel's public support of his cause was distinctly harmful. Being also a candid man, Harvey asked Wilson if there was any

truth in the rumor that he had expressed this opinion. Wilson replied with equal frankness that there was. "Is there anything I can do," asked Harvey with strained politeness, "except to stop advocating your nomination?" "I think not," replied the Governor. "At least I can't think of anything." Thus ended in mutual but formal courtesy this celebrated friendship.

A short time afterwards, the press agents of the Wilson campaign let this political cat out of the bag, and the candidate was represented as turning away from the reactionary policies of Colonel Harvey, Harper Brothers, and J. P. Morgan, as reflected in *Harper's Weekly*, with all the intense loathing which Hamlet had shown in gazing at poor Yorick's skull. This was the first very conspicuous instance of Wilson's disposition to break a friendship with abruptness, although in this case there seems to have been more practical, if none the less selfish, reason for such an act than in some of the others that occurred at a later date.

When the National Democratic Nominating Convention assembled in Baltimore in 1912, Wilson had already secured the pledge to himself of the delegations from Texas, New Jersey, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and a part of the delegation from Pennsylvania. These belonged to the liberal element of the party. But they were not sufficient to assure his nomination. He must make inroads into the conservative wing if he was to obtain the prize. There were three men stronger with this wing than himself—namely, Underwood, Harmon, and Clark—especially Clark, who had the New York and Tammany delegations at his back. Ultimately the struggle was reduced to a choice between Wilson and Clark. A Sunday intervened. During a part of this interval Wilson attended church at Seagirt in a state of apparently pious detachment from conventions and politicians, although numerous newspaper reporters were camped on his lawn. On Monday the balloting was resumed, and from that hour Clark gradually began to sink and Wilson to rise in the voting scales. The forty-sixth ballot was reached without a positive decision. Then most of the pledged delegations started to

abandon their respective allegiances and turn to other horses in the race. In the end, Wilson had nine hundred and ninety ballots counted in his favor, while Clark, his only formidable rival, had eighty-four. Thus Wilson was nominated. A few months afterwards he was elected to the presidency directly in consequence of the split in the Republican party.

Unlike his two opponents, Taft and Roosevelt, Wilson could point to no long political career behind him. With the exception of the governorship of New Jersey, he had never filled a political office, and one such tenure by itself would not have advanced him to so high a position as the chief magistracy of the United States. He had served no apprenticeship beyond this in the practical sense of the word. He won the prize as a talker, and the first effective work which his tongue did in that direction was its advocacy of democracy in education. Not on the hustings, not in the convention, not in the caucus, had he acquired any part of the reputation which brought him this success, but chiefly on the campus of a university, in the halls of alumni chapters, and on the platforms of college commencements.

The period when the first term of President Wilson began was one of political revolution, in which the liberal spirit predominated. The people at large were now resolved to control the great aggregations of capital. The primary had been adopted because the voters were bent upon exercising their power of selection in person, and not, as formerly, through representatives exposed to improper influences. And a more significant expression of this determination was their employment of the suspicious method of the referendum and recall. Local woman suffrage and local prohibition had already anticipated the general introduction of both by constitutional amendment as a part of the national policy. Income and inheritance taxes by congressional action were already on the horizon, if not actually at hand. And the railroads were under the public checkrein.

Among the most notable measures of President Wilson's first term, in sympathy with this new spirit of popular supervision, was the Federal Reserve Act, which was adopted as

the most promising means of removing the danger of financial panics. The act creating the Federal Trade Commission, which was designed to reduce unfair competition, was hardly less beneficent. This was followed by the act creating the Tariff Commission, which was expected to provide a flexible tariff at the impartial dictation of the President.

But from a moral point of view, Wilson's most commendable achievement in his high office was his successful struggle to place British ships on the same footing as American in the remittance of tolls in the passage of the Panama Canal. This was in harmony with a previous understanding, but it was due to the President's sense of fairness and regard for treaties that exactly the opposite demand in the last national Democratic platform respecting this point was not obeyed by Congress. Equally just was the support which he gave towards the passage of an act that eased the financial burdens of farmers by the grant of government loans; and he was similarly in earnest in carrying through the eight-hour labor act. At the same time, he exhibited a reactionary disposition in opposing the establishment of woman suffrage as a part of the national law.

The first ugly snag on which Wilson ran in the course of his administration arose in connection with the disordered condition of Mexico after Madero's assassination. Wilson, like Taft, refused to recognize Madero's successor, who, after an outrage on American rights, openly treated the President's demand for a salute to the American flag with contempt; nor was any change in this attitude compelled by the landing of American troops at Vera Cruz. The situation was not much improved by the election of Carranza to succeed Huerta. The policy of "watchful waiting" adopted by Wilson was really the policy of expediency, if not of impotence. In short, it was the policy of cautious pacifism as opposed to the blustering Big Stick policy, on which Roosevelt had successfully relied to carry out similar purposes. This noncommittal attitude was probably very influential in convincing the German military clique that under no provocation would Wilson exhibit an active belligerent spirit, and that

therefore there was nothing for the German war party really to fear from the United States, should the Central Powers precipitate a conflict in Europe. This policy of watchful waiting, just as the German Government had expected and counted on, was repeated in a more vital quarter after the Teutonic armies had crashed into Belgium.

A proclamation of neutrality was issued so soon as hostilities had started; even neutrality in thought was demanded; and every servant of the government was enjoined from singing the European war songs.

The President's refusal to protest against the invasion of Belgium and his message of fraternal congratulation to the Kaiser on his birthday not many months afterwards left a sore spot in the minds of myriads of Americans. It was bitterly asserted that an opportunity to convince the Germans that the United States formally disapproved of their lawlessness and ruthlessness had been allowed to pass without justification. President Wilson, in their opinion, had by his supineness deprived the American people of their rightful moral influence in the conflict. Hardly less odious to them was his petty remonstrance against England's policy towards the supposed neutral ships that were really engaged in furtively furnishing Germany with the food, munitions, and other supplies which would enable her to continue hostilities indefinitely. His action, they declared, had again placed America in the position of impotency, which had distinguished the nation under his administration in the Mexican crisis. A conventional overture to mediate was made by the President. His private agent in the person of Colonel E. M. House had, even before the war began, visited in vain the different capitals of Europe in order to find a common basis for keeping the peace. When for the same purpose he revisited these capitals after hostilities had opened, he was again unsuccessful. In the meanwhile, Germany was using her submarines to sink the merchant vessels of the Allies regardless of whether or not they carried neutral passengers on board. In May, 1915, the *Lusitania* was thus destroyed.

Would the United States patiently submit to this policy

of ruthlessness, which thus defied all international law?

Wilson answered this question by beginning a voluminous series of notes addressed to the German Government, in which he warned that Government that it would be "held to a strict accountability for the acts of its naval authorities." This correspondence went on without any permanent effect in spite of promises to desist made through the German ambassador in Washington. "Liners," he said, "would not be torpedoed unless they resisted or endeavored to escape by flight." But it was observed that the German agents in the United States were never so active in stirring up strikes and blowing up railway bridges and munition factories as they were now.

In June, 1915, Bryan, perhaps the most grotesquely inefficient, though not the least conscientious, official who ever filled a high place in an American administration, resigned. Curiously enough, he objected to Mr. Wilson because he was too unrestrainedly belligerent in the existing crisis. And yet by this time, as we have mentioned, the *Lusitania* had been sunk, and Wilson had taken refuge from the necessity for more resolute resentment in the folds of a pride too great to find vent in fight. Another outrage was now about to raise the indignation of Americans to a still higher degree. This came out when it was disclosed that the German Government had instructed its ambassador at the city of Mexico to propose an alliance with the Mexican Government on the basis of supplying it with funds to recover Texas and its other lost provinces. When Wilson afterwards asked for the aims which each belligerent had in view, the Germans put his inquiry on one side and asked simply for a conference. A few weeks later the President submitted a declaration to Congress which defined the conditions of peace. The only notice which the German Government took of this act was to inform the American Government that the submarine warfare had been renewed. A short time thereafter, the United States severed all relations with the Central Empires and at the close of another brief interval proclaimed that it was in a state of armed neutrality.

On March 31, 1917, Wilson in the middle of the night rose from bed and composed his final war message; on the following day he read it to the assembled members of Congress. That body subsequently authorized him, by the passage of the Selective Service Act, to raise an army of ten million men and approved his appointment of General Pershing to its command. Roosevelt requested permission to lead overseas a large body of volunteer soldiers, but he received no encouragement from his old opponent in the White House. General Wood had been particularly active in establishing the preparation camps at the time that the President was struggling with the hallucination of pacifism, and possibly this fact had some influence in suggesting the order to that capable officer to remain behind when his troops set sail for France. The President's next step was to proclaim a series of Fourteen Points, the substance of which was: that justice should be done to small nations as well as to large; that every people should possess the right of self-determination; that all the seven seas should be free; that war should be kept at arms' length by arbitration; and that all covenants should be openly arrived at. Of these celebrated Points, the suggested right of self-determination proved to be a firebrand of extraordinary potency all over the world.

After arriving on the already ensanguined fields of France, the American army soon found itself successfully cooperating with the Allied troops in slowly driving back the German forces, and with the armistice, the war ended.

It was President Wilson's opinion that the United States seized the sword in order to make the world safe for democracy. He decided that the same grand purpose required that he should attend the final conference in Paris. There were secret peace treaties known to him which he thought could be undone only by his presence in that body. Unfortunately for the ultimate success of his work in the conference, he selected as his fellow-commissioners men of no real political influence in the United States and of no reputation in Europe. He passed coldly over the suggestion of the names of Taft, Root, Roosevelt, and Lodge, either because they

were Republicans, or because he anticipated that, being of a large caliber, they would not coöperate with him except on a footing of practical equality. In his recent appeal to the country in a national election to return only candidates of his own party, he had been defeated, and this fact doubtless raised a feeling of soreness in his mind against these distinguished representatives of the opposing political ranks.

Almost from the threshold of his arrival on the other side, he endeavored, in his distrust of the principles of European statesmen, by a series of popular speeches in various countries to create a public sentiment in favor of his own ideas that would compel the rulers on thrones and in cabinets to give up their selfish designs and adopt the Wilsonian conception of the duty of the hour. Everywhere he was hailed by the people at large as a new Messiah, a new Mahdi. Morally the world was to be made over again. Above all, there was to be a new birth of political freedom.

At the height of this frenzy of popular confidence in the practicability of the Wilsonian dream, there had not, since the days of Peter the Hermit or the Pied Piper, been exhibited such blind enthusiasm, such an ecstasy of credulity, in the old disillusioned countries of Europe. The substance of the President's addresses was that mankind should be governed by moral law; that spiritual forces should always control the material; that the selfish interests of one community, one land, should be compelled to yield to the good of all communities and all lands, even though this might curtail the rights of some. Who could exercise the power required to enforce such a condition of unity? Only a league of nations, an instrumentality which had already been suggested by England.

The hardened statesmen of France and Italy and England, accustomed to centuries of diplomacy guided by naked selfishness and by unrestrained acquisitiveness, regarded the altruistic herald from America with mingled cynicism and amusement. A man of *noble candour*, they described him. That is to say, of *stupid simplicity*. Wilson was indifferent at first to this sneering incredulity. Did he not have the peo-

ple of Europe at large behind him? But in the actual working of the Conference he found that this was not in itself sufficient. He was handicapped at every step, first by his own isolation, and secondly, by his own ignorance of the game which he was playing, in opposition to shrewd and selfish foreign associates. There was no one even in his own entourage whose advice and aid he was willing to take and use. With the exception of himself, the American commissioners did not really count at all. When he was present, they disappeared for all practical purposes.

So far from the League's being a covenant openly arrived at, the door of the conference chamber was closed even to the reporters. No one except the persons who were members of the Conference itself had an accurate conception of the purely practical side, as distinguished from the purely moral side, of the American position. The daily communique was as bare as the shelves of Mother Hubbard's cupboard. The first draft of the League of Nations was completed in the midst of this privacy and in that more or less tentative form was read by Wilson at a public session. Its most salient provisions were, however, generally known when he returned to the United States for a brief sojourn, during which opposition on a formidable scale did not disclose itself. Many prominent Republicans seemed to be content only to offer a few amendments. The earliest criticism of significance expressed itself in a round robin of Republican senators, who declared their purpose to defeat the covenant, unless its existing form was modified to meet their objections to it. But the hostility that showed itself was not uncompromising enough to foreshadow the total rejection of the instrument.

When Wilson went back to Paris, he discovered that the resident American commissioners had crept out of their obscurity and had actually agreed to separate the Treaty of Peace from the Covenant of the League, as well as to make other important concessions. The President seems to have held House chiefly responsible for this backsliding, and that faithful assistant soon found himself shunted off first to England and afterwards to complete limbo. Wilson deter-

mined to fight the selfish arrangements which had been made by the Allied representatives in his absence. With England's coöperation, he was successful in bringing the Covenant of the League into the body of the peace treaty, and he compelled other changes in the provisions which had been adopted.

But he found that he could not carry out all his plans fully. He attempted to balk the Italian acquisition of Fiume, and the only result was to create a flood of hostility against himself in the Italian nation. He was compelled to surrender to Japan in the settlement of the Shantung claim. And finally he was constrained to overlook all the defects of the peace treaty itself because it had the Covenant of the League embodied in it. Worse than this, he had to accept a mutilated League to obtain one at all, a League, indeed, so amended that the United States Senate refused to approve it in the form submitted. During the long and bitter wrangle which followed with that body, Wilson obstinately refused to countenance the reservations which it proposed. Either the Covenant as it stands, or nothing, was his ultimatum. A modified League, or nothing, was the Senate's reply.

Wilson made a tour through the West to harden public sentiment on his side of the controversy, but in carrying it out he overtaxed his physical and mental strength and fell a victim to paralysis. Before the end of his administration he recovered his powers to some degree, but after that event, he remained an invalid during the few years of his survival. In this interval he was consoled by the fervid loyalty of a large following, who looked upon him, not as an archangel damaged by failure, but rather as an illustrious figure all the more impressive for the pathos of defeated aspirations.

His body now rests under the roof of the great cathedral in Washington, and his tomb there has already become the shrine of all who believe that his dream of an unbroken peace among the peoples of the earth will yet be realized by the universal acceptance of the general principles of the Covenant which he so earnestly advocated at the close of the World War.

Chapter XVII

DOCTOR WALTER REED

LIKE ALL the white people of the community to which he belonged by birth, Walter Reed was of the purest English lineage. There was no county in Virginia, indeed, which in that division of its inhabitants represented more completely the old colonial stock than the county of Gloucester. The passage of time had only served to maintain the original homogeneity of this stock. In the long interval no alien immigration had stolen in to mingle itself with the blood which had entered with the first settlers early in the seventeenth century. The largest number of the latter harked back to the green hills and valleys of Middle and Southern England. It was by no haphazard that the diversified region between the York and the Chesapeake, with its network of sinuous creeks and inspreading bays, received the name of Gloucester, so redolent of English political history and social tradition. Its adoption was suggested by remembrances of the old names across the sea and reflected the determination of the newcomers to hold on, under foreign skies, to all that could be retained of the ancient families and ancestral seats.

As the first century of the settlement advanced, the new community increased in prosperity, and as it did so, the plantations became more extensive and the residences more attractive. The social life, only slightly modified by a different physical environment, never lost its loyalty in spirit to the English model, while the moral standards and the sentimental leanings practically underwent no change in their character. Indeed, the old English habits and points of view

lingered on down to the outbreak of the Revolution. The alteration which followed that event was not, except in the framework of the government, really fundamental in its scope; and even in the political province the transformation did not reach beyond the transfer of personal allegiance and the disestablishment of the church. The old form of local administration remained, and it was that department which came closest to the lives of the people. Slavery survived, and as long as it did so, the ancient social life and all the characterize infiuences which accompanied it showed no radical responsiveness to the dictation of a new era.

The Gloucester County in which Walter Reed was born in 1851 was not essentially different from the same community seventy-five years earlier. In other words, the old colonial spirit was far from being defunct there. The plantation system, for instance, had not altered. Agriculture was still the chief, if not the only, industrial interest of the people. The remoteness of the county had also preserved the social environment from any intrusive touch calculated to transform it to the bottom. The ramifications of kinship, through intermarriage during several centuries, tended to confirm and prolong the old family customs, sympathies, and convictions. The same serious occupations, the same amusements, the same equality of fortune among the members of the highest class, the same fundamental religious belief, and the same political principles left no room for the display of any spirit but an inherited conservatism. In other words, the people among whom Walter Reed was born were faithful to all the ancient leanings of the race from which they were sprung. It was a provincial community, it is true, but it was also a refined and cultivated one, and morally sound to the core.

Reed was probably too young to have been much impressed by his Gloucester surroundings before his parents removed to Prince Edward County. It is possible, however, that he did take in just a little of their influence unconsciously. It happened that the new community towards the mountains, where he lived later on while still in his early childhood, was as much a stronghold of Virginian Presbyterianism as

Gloucester was of Virginian Episcopalianism. This fact indicated a decided degree of difference in the social temper of the two counties and in their religious attitude. It is true that in Prince Edward puritanism was not as extreme as it was in contemporary New England, but nevertheless it was strong enough to produce a perceptible effect in every province of the local life. Near the Reed home in Prince Edward the famous Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian denomination was situated, and its teachings, through its graduates, diffused a certain austerity in the surrounding regions of southside Virginia.

An incident is related of the boy Reed that would seem to reveal his having caught some of this stern and self-repressive spirit. We are told by one of his biographers that on a certain occasion, he and several youthful friends made the round of the tobacco warehouses of Farmville, and as they went, he picked up some of the leaf here and there and chewed it. After an interval, he was taken so alarmingly ill that his companions endeavored to hurry him home in their arms. Supposing him to be dying, and apprehensive of the consequence to themselves, they implored him to keep silent. "Promise, Walter," they begged, "that you will not tell even if it kills you." Walter, convinced that his end was near, solemnly and firmly, though faintly, promised to do as they wished.

The father of Walter Reed was a Methodist minister of distinction. The preachers of that denomination were never stationed in one community beyond a definite length of time. It was under the operation of this rule that the Reverend Mr. Reed was removed from Gloucester to Prince Edward, and subsequently from Prince Edward to Albemarle. Before he accompanied his parents to Charlottesville the youthful Walter had an opportunity of seeing troops engaged in actual warfare. Farmville was in the path of General Lee's retreat to Appomattox, and in front of his more or less straggling soldiers the troopers of Sheridan had been successful in thrusting themselves near that place. Their presence made it necessary to hide the horses of Mr. Reed, if they were to

be saved from the grip of the enemy. The job of doing this was assigned to the excited Walter and his brother, who managed to get the animals away to a remote recess in the woods. Unfortunately, the secret had been revealed to a servant supposed to be trustworthy, but in truth grossly treacherous. The horses were soon discovered through his connivance and taken, and the little boys were released only because they were too young to be retained as prisoners. This was Walter Reed's first experience of war.

The next scene in his life shifts to the schoolroom in Charlottesville. In the course of the ensuing two years he made so much progress in his studies there that he ventured to seek entrance into the classes of the University of Virginia, although he was still below the regulation age. But he was found to be so well prepared that an exception was made in his favor. He was not yet sixteen. He was solicitous to continue his work until he had secured a degree, but his father was unable to supply the means required to meet the expense. So young was Reed at this time that although he had passed all his examinations successfully, the faculty declined to present him with the certificates of proficiency which he had won. This decided him to register in the medical school. The faculty assented to his request only because they were sure it would not be possible for him to graduate after one year's course, as he proposed to do. Apprehensive lest the faculty should change their minds, he was not satisfied until he had obtained a formal promise from the chairman to grant the diploma, should it be really won.

Not only was Reed successful in graduating at the end of nine months, but the upshot of his examinations disclosed that he stood only third from the head of his class. It was noted at the time that he was the youngest student who had so far obtained his diploma in the medical school of his alma mater. This feat was the more remarkable because previous to the beginning of the session he had enjoyed no preparation whatever for the course which he had concluded to take up. It was not simply a mental triumph. It was also a physical one. For unlike the majority of the young men who were

able to carry off the degree in one session, he apparently suffered no ill effect to his health. He had at one time gone so far as to limit the extent of his sleep to three or four hours in the twenty-four.

By the end of another year he had won the degree of doctor of medicine at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York City. He did not confine himself, while a student in that college, to his textbooks alone. With quick and eager intelligence he used every opportunity open to him there to acquire culture in general. For instance, he attended concerts, and lectures on subjects as foreign to medicine as literature and law. In succession he was attached to various hospitals in New York City and Brooklyn and for a time served as the public physician of one of the most impoverished districts on Manhattan Island. He is said to have been deeply touched by his observation of the cases of extreme misery which met him there on every side. The religious part of his nature, brought out by this professional experience in the purlieus, is revealed in an incident recorded of him at this time by his brother, who then occupied the same room with him. Looking down late at night on the far-spread city, unaware that he was noticed, he repeated in a low, clear tone to himself, "Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida, for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would, long ago, have repented in sackcloth and ashes." After a few minutes of silence, spent in gazing on the sleeping city, he knelt down and repeated aloud the words of the Lord's Prayer, in tones of profound emotion.

So strong was the impression which he left on the distinguished physicians with whom he was associated at this time that through their influence, and just at the age of twenty-two, he received his appointment as one of the five inspectors of the Brooklyn Board of Health.

A visit to North Carolina in 1874 proved to be a turning point in his life. He had gone there to pass some weeks with his father, who was then residing in the small town of Murfreesboro. During this sojourn he made the acquaintance of

his future wife; and falling in love with her, he quickly perceived that his only hope of placing himself in a position to marry her at an early day was to abandon his uncertain general practice and secure a post in the surgical corps of the army. So soon as this decision was reached, he began his preparation for the very severe trial examination which he had to pass before the Board. The strenuousness of his studies broke his health so completely that he was confined to his room and bed during several weeks. Fortunately, the date assigned for his examination was postponed, which gave him ample time to recover and to continue his preparation, with the ultimate result that he was rewarded by brilliant success in meeting the test of his examiner's questions.

His appointment to the position of assistant surgeon was soon followed by his engagement to Miss Lawrence. He was now twenty-five years of age. Perhaps some faint premonition of the great destiny in store for him in his new professional field led him to write to her, "It may be that God in his allwise Providence has some wise purpose for me, humble as I am, to fulfill, and shall I shrink from it?"

In the course of the spring of 1876, Reed, who was on the point of marrying, received unexpected orders to take up his duties as an army surgeon at once. The post assigned him was situated as far away as Arizona, a thinly populated region with neither advantages nor attractions. He naturally shrank from carrying his bride to such a remote and rough community without his having first inspected the ground alone. He therefore endeavored to obtain the permission of the surgeon-general at Washington to start thither by himself, but with the distinct promise that after an interval he could return East for a brief interval in which to be married. "Don't marry now," was the advice, half in jest, which he received. "Go to Arizona. There is no doubt some officer there will become insane before long. You can bring him East, and there will be the chance for your wedding."

Luckily for Dr. Reed, he did not follow this optimistic suggestion, since, had he done so, his visit to the East on such a mission would have been deferred for thirteen years.

It was decided that the wedding should take place at once; that a honeymoon of two weeks should be passed in the East; that Reed should then leave for Arizona; and that so soon as he had learned the character of the situation to be faced there by his bride, she was to make the journey to California alone, where she would be met in San Francisco by her husband. This program was carried out to the letter. Mrs. Reed had never before gone so great a distance from home. In the course of the journey she was compelled to face a prairie blizzard, and her safety was also endangered by a train collision. After joining her husband, she was required to travel for a period of twenty-two days before Fort Lowell, their destination, could be arrived at. The journey was made in an army wagon, at times over half-defined roads in the roughest condition, often through dark, lonely canyons, or over the wide desert plains. The roadside huts at which they alighted at intervals sometimes presented objects that were of a nature to shock the inexperienced young wife. At one of these huts, where the wagon was stopped, Dr. Reed inquired of the sole tenant whether accommodations could be obtained for the night. The owner, in assuring him that they could be, mentioned incidentally that the previous inhabitant of the shanty had been devoured by coyotes, and the skeleton left to disintegrate. "Don't be alarmed," he added, "by the sight of the armbone in your room. I use it to keep the window propped!" And there it was, as he said, just above the bed in which they were to sleep!

During the period when he was stationed in Arizona, Dr. Reed was shifted from fort to fort. At one of these posts he found himself seven hundred miles from the nearest railroad. The mail arrived here only once in every seven days. The stage coach, which, with the exception of the ambulance furnished the only means of transportation for passengers and freight, was often attacked by desperate outlaws; and there was always a chance that outlying forts would be surprised by Indian incursions upon the slightest diminution of their military strength and vigilance. It is said that on one occasion Dr. Reed and his wife encamped for a night on a spot

PLATE XXI. *From the painting by Wegner in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. Used by courtesy of the Governor of Virginia. Photo Cook.*

DOCTOR WALTER REED

which, twenty-four hours afterwards, became the scene of a fierce battle between two of the Arizona tribes.

Even in a post of importance life was not exempt from hardships and privations. These, however, appeared only to increase Walter Reed's consecration of all his powers to the full performance of his duties. He was not satisfied to confine his professional ministrations to the soldiers belonging to the garrison of the fort where he happened to be stationed for the time being. The people in all the surrounding sparsely settled country were his patients; and he allowed no obstacle to stand in the way of his giving them the benefit of his knowledge and skill, whenever they were in need of his services. For instance, he was often seen to disregard the fact that he himself was suffering with fever when called upon to ride a long distance in order to afford relief at a pioneer bedside. The poorer the sufferer, the more eager was Reed to extend his aid. It has been said of him that throughout his later professional life he never lost his impression of his practice among the indigent population of New York City; and that his recollection of the suffering which he had observed there made him, wherever he was posted, more sensitive to the claims of sickness among the same impoverished class, whether to be found in the purlieus of towns or in the barren lands of the western territories. It was noticed in Arizona that the Indians who lived in the vicinity of Forts Lowell and Apache frequently came to consult him about their maladies, in spite of the hostile moods which they so often exhibited towards the garrisons; and they disclosed their appreciation of his services by making him constant and generous gifts of venison.

It was in harmony with his great work in the future that he showed a remarkable ability from the start in the organization and management of his hospitals and hospital corps. He would countenance not the slightest departure from the strictest discipline in conducting and supervising both; and he was especially stern in punishing any attendant who proved himself indifferent to cleanliness and sobriety. In fact he refused to tolerate any disregard of good order in

any form; and so far from exciting dislike by this rigidity, he won the respect and the affection of all who served under him.

At the end of four years he received instructions to report at Fort McHenry in Baltimore. While stationed there, he revealed his thirst for additional knowledge of his calling by attending lectures on physiology in the Johns Hopkins University. This was the beginning of the course of study which was to prepare him for the special line of experimental investigation that was to bring him a world-wide fame in a few years.

Dr. Reed had been stationed in the East but twenty-four months, when he was transferred to the Department of the Platte. Here he resumed the life which he had led as an army surgeon at Fort Lowell and Fort Apache in Arizona. His situation in Kansas, however, was subject to more hardships than he had ever experienced in the posts of the far West. The climate in winter, to mention a single detail, was much more severe. The blizzards on the open plains were perhaps the most penetrating to be encountered in the United States; and to these in their full fury Dr. Reed was often exposed while visiting patients among the rude agricultural population that occupied the adjacent districts. On more than one occasion, while wandering aimlessly about in the blinding snowfall, he gave himself up to a feeling of certainty that it would be impossible for him to escape death in the course of a few hours. It was in the environment of scenes like this that a part of each year was passed; and the remainder was usually characterized by spells of excessive heat, without any compensation in beauty of scenery.

At the end of five years he was transferred to Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama, where he found a keen sense of relief, for the time being, in the milder climate, the profusion of flowers, and the wealth of forest growth.

As Dr. Reed had not been satisfied with the routine of general practice before he entered the surgical branch of army service, so after an interval spent in this Southern station, he began to desire a change from his duties in post hos-

pitals to experimental investigation in the great public hospitals of the East. Under the influence of this feeling he applied for an early leave of absence to be passed in work of this nature. The Johns Hopkins Hospital had only recently been opened to the study of clinical medicine and surgery and to laboratory tests. After entering the precincts of this great institution, he at first gave up his time to clinical courses but he subsequently turned with extraordinary ardor to the subjects of pathology and bacteriology, in which branches of research he was to rise to so much eminence. By this time an unprecedented advance had been made in the acquisition of knowledge of the infectious diseases. The germ theory had been developed to explain successfully the origin of many of the most terrible physical ailments. The laboratory became the scene where were forged the weapons with which to combat the subtlest enemies of human health; and among those engaged in these beneficent labors Dr. Reed had soon taken a position in the front rank. At his special request there was turned over to him the microscopical and experimental study of the so-called lymphoid nodules which appear in the liver in cases of typhoid fever. This was his first experience of original scientific investigation.

His researches at the Johns Hopkins Hospital prepared him to perform with competence the duties of curator of the Army Medical Museum and also of professor of bacteriology and clinical microscopy in the Army Medical School. To these positions he was assigned in 1893. During this year he was promoted to the rank of full surgeon in the medical corps, an advancement which brought his garrison life, extending over eighteen years, to an end. Henceforward, his professional services were to be confined to investigation, the results of which were to be preserved in memorable and, in several instances, in epochal reports.

In the course of the war with Spain, he was appointed the chairman of a committee to study the causation and the incubation of typhoid fever. The fruits of the researches which followed were incorporated in a report of extraordinary interest. This document brought out three facts of importance

in regard to the origin of the disease: it was spread (1) by the common fly; (2) by contact with infected articles; and (3) by a contaminated water supply. Dr. Reed's fame, however, does not rest on the Typhoid Fever Report, in the preparation of which he had expert assistance, but on the Yellow Fever Report. In the preparation of the latter he had expert assistance also; but this document bore more distinctly the peculiar stamp of his genius for medical investigation. How enormous is the world's debt to his labors in the province of this disease, a brief reference to the epidemics which had previously broken out in different countries will make perfectly plain.

The first appearance of yellow fever in history goes as far back in the past as 1595, when it swept through Central America. In 1664 the disease killed on the Island of St. Lucia all but eighty-nine of a regiment of soldiers that had numbered as many as fifteen hundred. In the course of 1666, five thousand men, women, and children died of the same malady on the same island. There were six epidemics between 1668 and 1695 in the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston. During the one hundred years that preceded 1800, yellow fever visited the present area of the United States not less than thirty-five times, without confining itself to Southern communities. Of every group of ten persons forming the population of Philadelphia in 1793–94, one died of that pestilence. In 1853 there were eight thousand deaths from it in New Orleans. In Memphis, in 1878, there were five thousand deaths, a mortality that was equal to one in every three strictures. During the previous seventy-nine years yellow fever had appeared somewhere in the United States once in the progress of every twelve months, with the exception of two years only.

There were numerous theories as to the causation of the disease. The one usually entertained attributed its origin to contact with an infected patient. Another held that it arose from some form of organic decomposition. Nevertheless, there were distinguished physicians who, as early as 1794, had expressed the opinion that this distemper was not con-

tagious. This was the conclusion reached by Dr. Rush, who had before believed the contrary, but who had altered his view after going through the mild epidemic in Philadelphia which followed the scourge of 1794 in the same city. The same conclusion was arrived at by La Roche in his great work on yellow fever written subsequently to the epidemic that decimated New Orleans in 1853. Nevertheless, the theory of contagion was not entirely rejected even as late as the epidemic of 1878 in Memphis. It was thought, at least by some, that the germs of the disease could be imported from other countries in baggage or merchandise.

The degree of knowledge of yellow fever in 1898 was summarized in a report issued during that year by the United States Marine Hospital Service. It was asserted in this report that "yellow fever is a communicable disease, but not contagious in the ordinary acceptation of the term. It is spread by the infection of places and articles of bedding, clothing, and furniture. The present opinion is, that one has not to contend with an organism or germ which may be taken into the body with food or drink, but with an almost inexplicable poison so insidious in its approach and entrance that no trace is left behind."

The impression that many diseases were transmitted by insects had been prevalent from a date as early at least as 1498. It had often, for instance, been asserted in print in the remote past that flies, infected by the excreta of plague, carried the malady to persons in good health by depositing such matter on their food. The deadly instrumentality of insects in general was not, however, scientifically proved until 1880, and then by actual experiment with the mosquito. In 1883 malaria was tentatively attributed by Dr. King to the bite of this insect, and more definitely to that source, in 1894, by Dr. Manson and Dr. Ross.

An early reference to the mosquito as a possible carrier of the germ of yellow fever also seems to have come from the pen of Dr. Mott, of Mobile, in 1848. Thirty-three years afterwards, Dr. Finlay, of Havana, advanced the same suggestion in more positive language, but he offered no evidence

based on a practical demonstration to show the truth of his assertion. In fact, no real knowledge of the origin of the disease had even by this time been acquired, although research was getting closer and closer to the secret, in spite of the differences of opinion held by those engaged in investigating the malady.

The next stage in the search was represented by the report of Dr. Sannarelli, who in 1897 announced that he had discovered that the origin of the fever was in a bacillus which he had been able to detect. The task of proving the accuracy or inaccuracy of this claim was assigned by the surgeon-general of the army to Dr. Reed and his assistant, Dr. Carroll. It took them but a short time to reach the conclusion that Sannarelli's bacillus was simply a variety of the hog cholera bacillus which they had already found and examined. This they were able to demonstrate beyond any room for doubt.

An epidemic of yellow fever that broke out in Havana in 1900 among the soldiers then stationed there led to investigations by a special commission of American medical army officers which finally cleared up the mystery of the terrible disease that had puzzled and baffled scientists for centuries. The members of this historic body were Dr. Reed, Dr. Carroll, Dr. Lazear, and Dr. Agramonte, the latter a Cuban. Dr. Reed occupied the post of chairman.

The first act of the commission was to prove that the *bacillus icteroides*, so characteristic of hog cholera, was not present in the blood of the eighteen yellow fever patients who were carefully examined; nor was it to be found in cultures taken at eleven yellow fever autopsies. The next important step was to test the correctness of Dr. Finlay's theory that the disease was transmitted through the agency of insects. The first observation, in this light, of a victim of yellow fever was made by Dr. Reed in July, 1900, at the Pinar del Rio barracks. He noticed in the hospital there that no means had been tried—to use the words of his report—"to disinfect the bulk of the contaminated articles of bedding and clothing, and yet the malady had not been contracted by the nurses

or by the men who had washed all the articles." He found similar contaminated articles in every one of the eight barrack rooms which were in continuous use.

That the fever was not contagious was further indicated by the case of a prisoner who, with eight other culprits, was closely confined in the guard house. This prisoner died of yellow fever, but none of his companions was stricken, although the bunk of the dead man had been promptly occupied by one of them when it became vacant. Not a single individual of the group had been exposed to the yellow fever then prevailing in Pinar del Rio, as they had been in a state of incarceration continuously for a long time. How did the sole victim contract the fatal malady? "It was conjectured at the time," said Dr. Reed, "that some insect capable of carrying the infection, such as the mosquito, had entered through the cell window, bitten this particular prisoner, and then passed out again. This, however, was only a supposition." Confirmed by other observations in his opinion that the disease was really propagated independently of contact, Dr. Reed now turned to make a test of the insect theory. "I felt well nigh convinced," he subsequently remarked, "that we could obtain no light whatever upon the task that had been set before us unless we substituted this line of work for the one we had been pursuing; namely, the search for the specific agent of yellow fever."

The species of mosquito selected for experiment by Dr. Reed was the *stegomyia fasciata*. His demonstration that the body of this insect was the receptacle for the parasite conveyer of the dreaded fever led to the conquest of the malignant disease. One of the most remarkable phases of this task of conquest was the necessity of using living human beings to provide the means of properly testing the conjecture of insect agency. It was promptly decided by Dr. Reed and two of his associates that they themselves should be the first to submit to the dangerous experiment, as an encouragement to others to follow their example. But Dr. Reed was at this moment called to Washington by the government for several weeks. Dr. Lazear took the place of his chief, and his action

was afterwards imitated by Dr. Carroll. Nothing followed in the case of Dr. Lazear's first application of an infected mosquito to himself, but in the case of Dr. Carroll a dangerous attack of yellow fever resulted, which caused his life to hang in the balance for a few days. This physician enjoys the distinction of having been the first to prove through his own body that the mosquito is the real agent for the transmission of this variety of fever.

Hardly had Carroll been permitted to leave his bed, when Dr. Lazear, who had again used an infected mosquito to inoculate himself with the same deadly parasite, died after a succession of violent convulsions. Thus perished the first victim who had devoted himself in the new experimentation to the cause of mankind in seeking the origin of this deadly scourge. Eleven other similar trials were undertaken, and the inference from these was so confirmatory of the inference from the first that it was determined to continue the test along the same line. Dr. Reed was now so confident of having plucked out the heart of the mystery that he stated definitely before the Public Health Association in October, 1900, "the mosquito acts as the intermediate host for the parasite of yellow fever." In order to remove the smallest reason for doubt of this statement, he decided that the future trials should be conducted under circumstances which would exclude all possibility of infection except through this insect. A station was built at Quemados in Cuba, which was named Camp Lazear in honor of the martyred physician. The fullest control of this establishment was given to Dr. Reed. Under his direction were grouped sixteen persons, including the surviving members of the commission. Their accommodations consisted of seven tents properly floored. Only immune persons were permitted to leave the camp and return. The non-immune persons used in the experiments had to pass in the station the entire period of incubation of the fever.

These additional experiments were made, not in the tents, but in two frame buildings covering an area fourteen by twenty feet. One of these structures was divided in the mid-

dle by a permanent wire screen partition. This was known as the Infected Mosquito Building. The other was known as the Infected Clothing Building. The interior of the first was well ventilated; the interior of the second was shut off from the movement of all fresh air. The windows and doors of both were carefully screened with wire. By this means, the mosquitoes could be kept either inside or outside as happened in each case to be desirable. The course of the experiments at Quemados took three directions in succession: the first non-immune individual was exposed to the bites of mosquitoes that had fed on the blood of yellow fever patients; the second received an injection of blood taken from the body of such a patient; the third was brought into the closest physical contact possible with articles that had been contaminated by yellow fever excreta of all sorts.

It was indicative of the spirit animating the persons who submitted to these experiments at Quemados that they came forward entirely on their own initiative, without the smallest inducement in the form of material reward. "I volunteer my services," said a private in the army, John R. Kissinger, who was the first to offer himself, "solely in the interest of humanity and the cause of science." He stipulated expressly that he should receive no compensation; and his action was quickly imitated by John J. Moran, who tendered his body for use with equal disinterestedness. As they stood together in Dr. Reed's presence, he took off his hat in their honor. "Gentlemen," he said, "I salute you." "In my opinion," he afterwards justly remarked, "this exhibition of moral courage has never been surpassed in the annals of the Army of the United States."

The first experiment was tried on Kissinger. He was confined in the closest quarantine during a period of fifteen days. At the end of that time he was subjected to the bites of three mosquitoes, one of which had fed on the blood of a yellow fever patient fifteen days before; one nineteen days before; and the third, twenty-two days before. Three days and a half followed. Then the first symptom of the fever appeared, which rapidly developed into a severe case of the

disease. Reed was naturally exultant. "Six months ago when we landed on this island," he wrote his wife, "absolutely nothing was known concerning the propagation and spread of yellow fever,— it was all an unfathomable mystery,—but today the curtain has been drawn; its mode of propagation is established; and we know that a case minus mosquitoes is no more dangerous than one of chills and fever."

Having received the confirmation of Cuban physicians, who were experts in the treatment of the malady, that the fever which had followed in Kissinger's case was a decided case of yellow fever, Reed continued the experiment with other persons who had imitated Kissinger's example in offering themselves. The same result occurred in the course of a single week in every instance of the like inoculation with the mosquitoes. While this experiment of direct application was taking place, the second experiment through contact with articles contaminated by the filth of yellow fever was also being pushed. Three non-immune young Americans agreed to pass twenty nights in the fetid atmosphere of a small, poorly ventilated building which was filled with a very great quantity of garments that had been previously used by yellow fever patients in hospitals. The health of these youthful heroes was in no degree injured by this exposure, even after sleeping in the garments.

Reed had so far been able to demonstrate two momentous facts in quick succession, namely, that infected clothing had no part in the transmission of yellow fever and that the disease was really conveyed through the action of the mosquito in injecting a poisonous parasite into the human blood.

But Reed was not content to rely solely upon his first method of proving the agency of the disease. He employed a second method which even more clearly demonstrated the accuracy of his impression of its cause. Reference has been made to the building belonging to the camp which had been divided into two compartments by a wire screen partition. One of these divisions was reserved for a non-immune, who was to be inoculated by morbid mosquito bites; the other for two non-immunes, who were to be protected from the intrusion

of the infected insects. Fifteen mosquitoes which had been allowed to feed on the blood of yellow fever patients at different intervals—one for twenty-four days, three for twelve, four for eight, and seven for five—were liberated in the division designed for the positive experiment. As soon as these insects had been turned loose there, a young man, Private Moran from Ohio, in his shirt only, entered and reclined on the bed. In the other division, separated from his division by the wire screen, two companions took their unexposed place. In a short time the little army of infected mosquitoes swooped down on Moran and bit him freely on face and hands. After a half hour, he withdrew but he returned in the afternoon for twenty minutes, and again on the following day, for fifteen. Altogether he was bitten fifteen times.

In the meanwhile, the men confined on the non-infected side of the screen remained where they were.

Four days after the first visit to the infected side of the screen by Moran, he was stricken with the chill which precedes an attack of yellow fever and soon developed a severe case of that disease. In the meanwhile, the men who had occupied the space of the unexposed division remained free from all symptoms of the fever and continued to escape indefinitely. The comment of Dr. Reed on this absolute proof of the correctness of his previous tests was expressed in a letter to his wife, "The prayer that has been mine for twenty years, that I might be permitted, in some way, or at some time, to do something to alleviate human suffering has been granted!"

There was now but one other step, in accord with the original plan, to be taken to illuminate completely the history of the transmission of yellow fever. Could a person be infected with the parasite by inoculation directly from the blood of a victim? Experiment proved that he could be. Destroy the mosquito bearer, however, and it would be easy to put an end to the propagation of the malady.

Despite the light thrown on the mode of spreading yellow fever, the initial cause of the disease has remained as unknown as before.

Throughout the course of his experiments, Dr. Reed was sustained by the warm and discriminating sympathy of Major General Leonard Wood, the Military Governor of Cuba, a physician and a man of scientific training himself. All the pecuniary assistance in his power was promptly and liberally granted.

The practical results of the discovery of the mosquito's supreme part in the propagation of yellow fever have been enormous in their influence. This discovery has led to the suppression of that scourge in all the countries where it formerly created unlimited havoc to the public health as well as to the general prosperity. Reed has been justly hailed as one whose work has already conferred inestimable blessings on mankind and is destined to confer still greater blessings in the future, with the further development of the sanitary art. His name is already to be found in the short roll of the greatest experimenters in medical history. He passed away prematurely, but he who began as a simple Virginian country boy of obscure family lived long enough to win a fame coextensive with the area of the entire globe by removing forever one of the most fertile causes of suffering and sorrow that have ever cursed the human body and the human mind.

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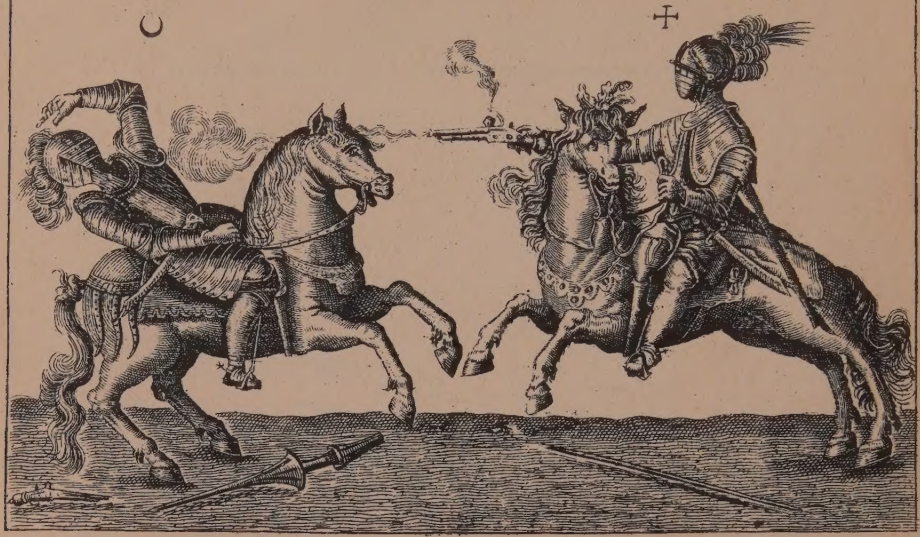

Three TVRKS heads in a banner giuen him for Armes. Chap. 8.

How he was presented to Prince SIGISMVNDVS. Chap. 8.

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Capt SMITH led Captiue to the BASHAW of NALBRITS in TARTARIA. Chap. 12.

Capt SMITH Killeth the BASHAW of Nalbrits and on his horse escapeth. Chap. 17.

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